

Nineteenth-Century Rural Labour in Canterbury — Rural
Apprenticeship or Rural Proletariat?: an assessment of
the social mobility of the workers employed at Mt. Peel
Station from 1856 – 1893

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on a group of men who, in the last half of the nineteenth century, were employed at Mt. Peel Station in South Canterbury. While some held 'skilled' positions as shepherds, shearers, or contract workers, the majority were unskilled, employed as labourers, general hands, or general servants. As a study of the social mobility of these workers, this thesis will attempt to find out to what extent they 'got on.'

The value of a study such as this becomes apparent when it is found that there are two opposing theories on the structure of nineteenth-century New Zealand society. One theory is that nineteenth-century New Zealand was a relatively class-free country where good opportunities for upward mobility made it possible for wage-earners to eventually buy enough land to be largely self-sufficient and free of a total reliance on wage-labour; a country where rural labour was part of an overall rural apprenticeship. The other theory is that the opportunities for mobility were lacking and rural labourers remained largely landless and reliant on wage labour for subsistence; a country where the rural labourer was part of a distinct rural working class or rural proletariat. In order to find which theory is closest to reality information is needed on both urban and rural areas.

While a lot of work has been done on social mobility in urban New Zealand, both of a qualitative and quantitative nature, rural New Zealand has largely been ignored, especially in terms of quantitative studies. This thesis aims to provide both qualitative and quantitative evidence of the social mobility experienced by this group of rural labourers and thus offer support to one of the theories of social structure in New Zealand. In the process, the various mechanisms and factors which affected social mobility will be examined.

Introduction

According to most nineteenth-century sources, New Zealand was a land where the majority of labourers could expect life to be much better than was possible in Britain. The propaganda which was written to encourage these unskilled and semi-skilled labourers to emigrate to New Zealand painted a suitably rosy picture of colonial life, with pleasant working conditions, an agreeable lifestyle, where high wages and low expenses would be conducive to saving.

The ordinary labouring men work eight hours a day. They have plenty of the best to eat, plenty to do, with an agreeable sprinkling of holidays, and receive eight shillings a day of wages. A single man can board luxuriously for eighteen shillings a week; and if he be sober and industrious, he cannot fail, if blessed with health, to realise in a short time a few hundred pounds.¹

Men who were lazy, unprepared to try their hands at various tasks, or had 'a fondness for the bottle' were discouraged from emigrating, but for temperate, hardworking and thrifty individuals, colonial New Zealand was touted as a land of opportunity.

When the ability to save was combined with easy access to cheap land it seemed credible that these labourers, many of whom were involved in farm work, would be able to purchase their own land after a few years of labouring, eventually becoming farmers in their own right, or, at least, securing a greater degree of protection from the wage market than they had attained in the old world. These farm labourers were one of the main groups sought after for emigration, and their prospects for success were seen, by some, to be almost certain:

The farm labourer will meet with immediate employment, and high wages.... Any number of this class can find employment, and it will be their own fault if, in a few years, they do not have farms of their own.... I know many who, by industry and thrift, have succeeded in raising themselves from the condition of labourers to that of farmers: such men usually beginning on their own account with a farm of about fifty acres; and beside cultivating their own, they make money by taking contracts for ploughing, by sheep-shearing, and by harvesting — according to the season — for the larger farmers in their neighbourhood. Very often, after they have got their land into a high state of culture, they sell it for four or five times as much as it cost them at first; and, going further back, begin again with much larger farms.²

¹ Bathgate, John, *New Zealand: Its Resources and Prospects*, Kiwi Publishers, Christchurch, 1996 [facsimile of an 1880 publication]: 21.

² Buller, Rev. James, *New Zealand: Past and Present*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1880: 141-142.

This view of nineteenth-century New Zealand as a labourers' paradise is not limited to early sources, but is found echoed over the years. A. E. Studholme's well-known *Te Waimate* (1940) tells us of the possibilities for advancement which existed in the 1880s, this time for those in the semi-skilled position of shepherd:

Some of the shepherds saved as much as £50 a year out of their pay, took up land of their own after a few years' service, and became quite wealthy. One such man died worth £100,000, and another sent me word that he could write his cheque for £50,000.³

Or even more recently, a 1974 publication reinforces the image:

Depending on the season of the year each station needed all types to do the work. Their wages, with keep, ranged from £50, £60, £70 and £100 a year for a six-day week. Most came to love the life, and with thrift saved enough to buy their own farm and eventually became big land-owners themselves, something they never could have done in their old home country.⁴

It is evident that over the years this optimistic image of colonial New Zealand has become entrenched in our psyche and become part of our heritage, but, it must be asked, how true was it? Was New Zealand really the land of opportunity that it seemed? Historians have presented two opposing theories in answer to these questions. One theory is that nineteenth-century New Zealand was a relatively fluid society where it was indeed possible for wage-earners to buy land and become fully-fledged farmers, or at least largely self-sufficient, producing enough to break free from a total reliance on wage-labour; it is argued that New Zealand was a country where rural labour was part of an overall rural apprenticeship.⁵ The other theory is that, for many, the opportunities for such social mobility were in fact lacking, and rural labourers remained largely landless and reliant on wage labour for subsistence;

³ Studholme, A. E., *Te Waimate: Early Station Life in New Zealand*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1940: 78.

⁴ Maxwell, James, *Discovering this Emerald: South Canterbury*, Homecrafts, Tekapo, 1974: 21-22.

⁵ This theory is advanced in Miles Fairburn's *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1989, and is supported by the evidence of individual cases provided by Rollo Arnold *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1981, and in an address by Arnold to the Otaki Historical Society in 1979 'The Dream and the Reality: English Village Immigrants to New Zealand in the 1870s', *Historical Journal*, 2, 1979: 4-11. Tom Brooking's *Lands for the People? the Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand: A Biography of John McKenzie*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 1996 also recognises the move from land ownership into farming. Although in this thesis this path to success is referred to as the rural apprenticeship, it was not necessarily solely rural, and some non-rural jobs were often undertaken at times during it.

the New Zealand rural labourer is seen as part of a distinct rural proletariat.⁶ Both theories are non-explicit, dealing with the ideas of success and failure but without stating exactly what levels of either would be needed to prove or disprove each hypothesis.

This thesis investigates the validity of both theories by tracing the lives of a group of men who were employed on a South Canterbury station during the last half of the nineteenth century and analysing whether New Zealand lived up to their expectations.⁷ The imprecision of the two theories means that if the evidence does not weigh significantly towards either it may not be possible to settle the question conclusively about whether New Zealand was a fluid society, however, any data on the experiences of these obscure individuals should provide some support either way. In the process, the factors conducive to success or failure are also examined.

Traditionally, social mobility studies have utilised large lists of names linked between, perhaps, two or three (usually official or published) sources containing fairly standardised information. In contrast, because of the often 'invisible' nature of rural workers, this study uses a relatively small list of names and an large number of varied sources containing eclectic fragments of information. Because of the innovative and experimental nature of this approach, the theories, methods and sources which were used are of fundamental importance. A large part of this thesis, then, concentrates on why this approach was used, its advantages and shortcomings, and suggestions for its implementation in the future.

⁶ This theory is put forward most strongly in many works by John Martin: 'Whither the Rural Working Class in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 17(1), 1983: 21-42; 'Rural workers and the Freeholders' Returns of 1882', Paper presented at the Second Annual Conference of the Stout Research Centre, Stout Research Centre, Victoria University, Wellington, 21-23 June, 1985; *The Forgotten Worker: The Rural Wage Earner in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, Allen & Unwin/Trade Union History Project, Wellington, 1990. It was previously suggested by W. B. Sutch in *Poverty and Progress in New Zealand: A Re-assessment*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1969, and is supported by Eldred-Grigg's suggestion of a closed colonial elite or gentry, Stevan Eldred-Grigg, a *Southern Gentry: New Zealanders Who Inherited the Earth*, Reed, Wellington, 1980.

In the context of this thesis the proletariat specifically involves the concept of landholding, with the majority of proletarians being landless labourers, and therefore reliant on wage labour for subsistence. This is instead of the possible looser term of proletariat meaning 'working class' with no reference to land ownership.

⁷ Mt. Peel station was chosen because the available sources lend themselves perfectly to this type of study; not only were almost all the station records retained, but, for an unknown reason, both published and unpublished official and unofficial sources from the South Canterbury area are particularly abundant. As no similar studies for other areas exist it is impossible to be certain of the typicality of either the South Canterbury area, or the Mt. Peel workers. However, there is no reason to believe that the situation would have been significantly different elsewhere.

Chapter 1 – Theory

General Social Mobility Theory

Social hierarchy can be viewed as a ladder. Any movement on this ladder – whether up, down, or across – is an example of social mobility. The study of social mobility involves finding out how and why people shift on this ‘ladder.’ Very simply, if peoples’ positions in the social hierarchy improve they have experienced upward social mobility, and if it deteriorates, downward social mobility.¹ For instance, in the context of this thesis, evidence of upward social mobility to self-employment for a number of labourers would support the idea of a rural apprenticeship – as touted in the emigration propaganda – while evidence of downward social mobility (or even just a lack of upward mobility) would support the emergence of a rural proletariat.²

These are both examples of vertical mobility, but social mobility can also be horizontal. As the name implies, horizontal mobility involves movement **across** a rung on the hierarchical ladder, rather than movement up or down between rungs. Mobility of this type often involves geographical movement or transience, although it can also mean a change in employment which does not change one’s position in the social hierarchy. Although this type of mobility does not affect one’s status directly, it can indirectly facilitate further vertical mobility by increasing opportunities for advancement.³ The focus of investigation can be split up further into intra-generational vs. inter-generational mobility, and group vs. individual mobility.⁴

As the names suggest, intra-generational mobility is the movement experienced **within** an individual’s lifetime, while inter-generational mobility is that experienced

¹ In this thesis ‘position in the social hierarchy,’ status, prestige, and social standing and are all taken to be synonymous, following the definition of ‘status’ in Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill, and Bryan Turner (eds), *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, 3rd ed., Penguin Books, London, 1994: 411.

² High levels of vertical social mobility can also be expressed by describing a society as ‘open’ or ‘fluid,’ meaning that opportunities for advancement were widely available.

³ Lawrence Stone’s article, ‘Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700’, *Past and Present*, 33, 1966: 16-55, is an excellent starting point for understanding the various types of individual social mobility.

⁴ Westoff, Bressler and Sagi categorise intra/inter-generational mobility as ‘the reference points of movement,’ and the choice of focus on either individual, group, or whole society as ‘the unit of analysis.’ A discussion of the development of these concepts can be found in Charles F. Westoff, Marvin Bressler, and Philip C. Sagi, ‘The Concept of Social Mobility: An Empirical Inquiry’, *American Sociological Review*, 25(3), 1960: 376-378.

between generations – for instance a son’s mobility compared to that experienced by his father or grandfather. Similarly, individual mobility and group mobility look at either the mobility of individuals, or of whole groups.⁵ For instance, as industrialisation occurred, the occupational group which held the label ‘shoemakers’ experienced downward mobility as their occupation changed from a highly skilled profession to little more than semi-skilled machine operating positions, whereas, at the same time, the individual shoemakers could have experienced stability or upward mobility as they shifted into different jobs.

We now have a basic understanding of the concept of social mobility. Before discussing the intricacies of the associated theory and its implications, it is useful to have some idea of how the study of social mobility has evolved. During the early twentieth century the popularity of Social History grew dramatically, and along with this came an interest in the historical study of social mobility. The theory and methods used by historians grew out of the work done by sociologists. Where the sociologists had used questionnaires to ask questions of the present, historians began using census records, tax records, marriage certificates, and almost any other records which contained names, to ask the same questions of the past.⁶

⁵ It is interesting to note that one of the pioneers of social mobility theory, Pitrim Sorokin, describes social mobility, in one definition, as ‘the phenomenon of the shifting of individuals within social space.’ While perfectly capturing the concepts of social stratification and vertical and horizontal mobility, it does not allow for the mobility of whole groups. The possibility of group mobility however, is later recognised when Sorokin talks of fluctuations in the ‘economic status of a [social] group as a whole,’ and in a later (extended) definition of social mobility as being ‘any transition of an individual or social object or value – anything that has been created or modified by human activity – from one social position to another.’ Pitrim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility*, The Free Press of Glencoe Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, 1959: 3, 23, 133.

⁶ The first major study of this type was Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964.

Since this pioneering work, based primarily on the use of census schedules, there have been many studies which used a variety of primary sources to study the demographic or social makeup of past societies. From the early 1970s, the availability of computers has led to a large number of in-depth studies. Examples which illustrate the variety of sources which can be utilised are Stephan Thernstrom’s most famous work, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis 1880-1970*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973 (census records); Joseph P. Ferrie, ‘Up and Out or Down and Out? Immigrant Mobility in the Antebellum United States’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 26(1), 1995: 33-55 (census records and shipping lists); David Herlihy, ‘Problems of Record Linkages in Tuscan Fiscal Records of the Fifteenth Century’, in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Identifying People in the Past*, Edward Arnold Ltd., London, 1973: 41-56 (taxation records); Margaret Nell Galt, ‘Wealth and Income in New Zealand c.1870 to c.1939’, Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University, 1985 (probates, death certificates and land records); Bob Hall, ‘Otiake 1905: a Methodology for the Historical Reconstruction of Rural Localities’, Department of Sociology, University of Canterbury, 1981 (land records); Noël Bonneuil, and Paul-André Rosental, ‘Changing Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century France’, *Historical Methods*, 32(2), 1999 (marriage certificates); Keith Anthony Pickens, ‘Canterbury 1851-1881: Demography and Mobility. A Comparative Study’, Ph.D. thesis, Washington University, 1976 (marriage and death certificates).

For some countries, the study of social mobility offered the perfect opportunity to test traditional perceptions of past society. In particular, colonial North America, Australia and New Zealand had all been identified with high rates of upward social mobility through their contemporary labels of 'land of opportunity,' 'labourers' paradise,' and similar optimistic aphorisms.⁷ By measuring the actual social mobility experienced by early colonists it should be possible to find out how close to reality these perceptions actually were.

The concept of social mobility is simple enough, but how can we measure it when, because of the different values held by different societies, social mobility is necessarily both qualitative and subjective, involving all the various dimensions which contribute to a person's position in a social hierarchy (their prestige, status or social standing)? It is clear that we must first isolate quantifiable qualities from which this status can be inferred. In order to do this it must be realised that the qualities and values which influence social standing vary depending on the circumstances. For instance, a feature such as occupational ranking or wealth may be more valued in one society than in another, and, as a result, hold more weight for overall social standing in that society. So, in order to assess social mobility, it is necessary to take a hermeneutic approach and first find out what values, qualities and assets are, or were, of significance to the society or group under study. For instance, in modern western societies, occupation, income, education, or property-holding are some of the areas most likely to affect someone's social standing, and each of these can be measured and studied independently. As a result, most studies of social mobility in western society use either a scale of occupational ranking and the subsequent levels of occupational mobility experienced, or a scale based on accumulated wealth, income or property-holdings and the resultant economic mobility.⁸

⁷ This perception, as it was held by the settlers themselves, is often called the 'insider's view.'

⁸ The majority of works which use a mobility scale based on changes in either income or levels of wealth (which suggests accumulation), label the resultant mobility 'economic mobility' (for instance Stuart Blumin, 'The Historical Study of Vertical Mobility', *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 1(4), 1968: 3). However, as a further distinction, Westoff et al., talk of 'financial mobility' which they define solely in terms of income (Westoff et al., 'The Concept of Social Mobility': 380). As they do not mention accumulated wealth at all, either under 'financial mobility' or anywhere else in their study, it is not clear which category it fits into and it seems prudent to avoid the term 'financial mobility,' and instead use 'economic mobility' which can cover both income and wealth.

While occupational or economic mobility alone can give some indication of overall social mobility, they are not synonymous with social mobility; neither one should be used unsupported as the single index for inferring social mobility.⁹ In a 1960s American study, which used data that had been collected for unrelated work on fertility, Westoff, Bressler and Sagi identified 22 different measures of social mobility (both objective and subjective); these were smaller units within the larger fields of occupational mobility, financial mobility, residential mobility, and mobility perceptions and aspirations.¹⁰ Variance analysis was then used to find any correlation between the variables and, although changes in each of the fields could influence others, the authors found that there was not enough of a correlation to be able to use any one variable as the sole indicator of social mobility: 'One important and direct implication of this finding is that one cannot safely infer knowledge of one dimension of mobility from knowledge of another.'¹¹ They concluded that "social mobility" is a complex multidimensional concept consisting presently of an indeterminate but substantial number of components.'¹² This argument was revisited in 1968 by Stuart Blumin.¹³ Again using variance analysis, this time on occupational mobility figures gathered from a study on early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, Blumin came to the same conclusion as Westoff, Bressler and Sagi that, even though occupational mobility is important to social mobility, 'it is not necessarily a valid indicator of [it].'¹⁴

Practical examples of the various components which can be indicative of social status, and how the importance of each component can vary, can be found in two works by sociologist Elvin Hatch.¹⁵ In these, Hatch investigates the differences in perceived social standing in two twentieth-century rural farming-based communities,

⁹ It should also be noted that occupational ranking involves subjectivity and in many Western scales the perceived 'desirability' of an occupation is closely linked to the amount of remuneration involved; ultimately the 'occupation' itself is not what is being measured, but some underlying indicator such as remuneration or security. This contrasts to scales which are concrete and objective – for instance a financial mobility scale which is based solely on accumulated wealth, or on income, both of which can be measured objectively.

¹⁰ Westoff et al., 'The Concept of Social Mobility': 375-385.

¹¹ Ibid: 384.

¹² Ibid: 385.

¹³ Blumin, 'The Historical Study of Vertical Mobility': 1-13.

¹⁴ Ibid: 3.

¹⁵ Elvin Hatch, 'The Cultural Evaluation of Wealth: An Agrarian Case Study', *Ethnology*, 26(1), 1987: 37-50; *Respectable Lives: Social Standing in Rural New Zealand*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1992.

California and New Zealand. Although these are contemporary views, rather than historical, they do show how differently status can be viewed in different cultures. In the Californian community, the position an individual occupied in the social hierarchy was primarily based on the amount of land held (even if mortgaged), and other assets such as housing or a late-model car. In the New Zealand community, however, it was based primarily on farming skill, although wealth and income could also contribute in a secondary manner. Hatch shows that even though a farmer might own a large amount of land, the status of the farmer was compromised if it was not being utilised to its full potential. A farmer with a small amount of land and low quality or unkempt housing, but who produced top-quality sheep, and whose farm was well-maintained, would generally have a higher social standing than one who owned larger amounts of land and a house in pristine condition, but who failed to produce quality animals and did not maintain the farm. New Zealand farmers were also reluctant to view large-landowners as, therefore, wealthy, as they realised that often large mortgages and/or high taxation could be involved.¹⁶ While Hatch found that in California a person's status **could** generally be inferred solely from material assets and income, in New Zealand – as the quality of the farmer's work and a strong work-ethic was of vital importance – neither wealth nor occupation alone was enough to infer the social standing of an individual. While these conclusions were based on two twentieth-century communities, they do reiterate the point raised by Blumin and Westoff, that it is unwise to infer status, and therefore social mobility, from only one dimension.¹⁷

This difference between social mobility as a whole and its various parts seems to have been overlooked by many historians (and sociologists). How much of a problem is this? First, we must realise that, in many cases, because of a paucity of data, occupational or economic mobility may be the **only** measurable indicator of social mobility available to historians. However, remembering that social mobility is subjective, and ultimately reliant on context, then, as long as we ensure that occupation or wealth (or any other measure of social status that we are using) **was**

¹⁶ It must be remembered that Hatch's study was based on what his respondents said. It is possible that their behaviour may have revealed something quite different.

¹⁷ Paul de Serville in 'Genealogy and Australian Social History', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888*, Bulletin No. 2., 1979: 108-110 also looked at factors which contribute to status and mentions the importance of bloodline and rank, these sometimes being more important than occupation, income, wealth or property.

seen as important in the society under study, then the effects of any inferences from one aspect should be minimal.¹⁸ In most cases though, the more dimensions of social mobility that are investigated, the less likely it is that bias will occur because of inference.

Hatch's work also demonstrated the subjectivity of social hierarchy scales. When dealing with past societies, if the problem of subjectivity is not recognised and addressed it can easily turn into presentism. Just as two contemporary societies can have very different values, so too with societies set apart by time. To examine how presentism could affect the results of a social mobility study we shall imagine an analysis where one of the dimensions from which social mobility will be inferred is that of occupation. As discussed above, the importance of each dimension to overall social mobility is context dependent, with the dimension's relative weight dependent on the views of the society under study. As a result, it follows that the framework or scale for prestige used for a twentieth-century study would not necessarily be relevant for a similar study in, for instance, the sixteenth-century. While there is a possibility that the same weight would be placed on occupation in both periods, it cannot be assumed. The validity of the framework being used must first be checked by looking at the values of the time, and then adapted if necessary.

Not only can presentism occur when assigning a certain weight to each dimension of social mobility, it can also take place **within** these dimensions. Assuming that in our study it was confirmed that occupation was of primary importance in the society under investigation, it is still necessary to check that the internal framework that we are using to rank the occupations is relevant to the period under study. In David Pearson's study of nineteenth-century Johnsonville, he used a modified version of a 1972 New Zealand occupational scale to measure occupational mobility.¹⁹ Pearson explains that he discarded overseas occupational classifications after finding cross-cultural difficulties, and then checked that this twentieth-century scale was relevant for his study of the previous century. Although, in this case, the scale was suitable, Pearson warns that 'one should be extremely dubious about the use of occupational scales based on contemporary data for studies centred on earlier nineteenth-century

¹⁸ As in Hatch's Californian example, where status could fairly safely be inferred solely from material wealth.

¹⁹ David G. Pearson, *Johnsonville: Continuity and Change in a New Zealand Township*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1979.

periods.’²⁰ To avoid presentism it is necessary to confirm, as Pearson did, that the scale being used is appropriate for the period under study.²¹ Similarly, it is vital to check that the scale is suitable for the specific area or group under study. This requires recognising that values may be different in rural or urban areas, or for different races or ethnic groups.

While sociology certainly has much to offer historians, its concepts and theories cannot simply be transferred between the disciplines without first recognising and addressing any problems which may occur because of its different focus.

Another problem with social mobility theory is how to decide what constitutes ‘high’ or ‘low’ levels of mobility; where is the magic line that can be used to prove that a society was indeed ‘open’ or ‘fluid’? the most obvious way to do this is by comparison. If one city exhibits levels of social mobility which are higher than another, it can be said that the first is more open than the second. Comparison is common and initially created problems for mobility studies as there was little or nothing to compare with: ‘The absence of similar studies for other societies meant that American scholars often concluded that although social mobility was less than once believed it must still have been “higher” than elsewhere.’²² As can be seen from this statement, if one were testing the chances for success in colonial America compared to those in the United Kingdom, and no data were available on UK mobility rates, then any conclusions put forward would be meaningless and based on speculation.

Similar unintelligible results could also occur when different scales are used for each study, a situation that is very likely when one remembers that, because of the nature of many of its underlying dimensions, social mobility can often be subjective. How can one avoid these problems, and still provide useful information on social mobility, when comparison with another society, for either of the reasons above, is unworkable? Here the answer lies in changing the focus of the question which is being asked. For instance, in this thesis at least two different mobility questions

²⁰ Ibid: 187.

²¹ See Michael B. Katz, ‘Occupational Classification in History’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 3(1), 1972: 63-88, for an interesting discussion of the processes involved in choosing an occupational scale for his study of a Canadian city (Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West*.)

²² Erik Olssen, and Hamish James, ‘Social Mobility and Class Formation; the Worklife Social Mobility of Men in a New Zealand Suburb, 1902-1928’, Unpublished Paper, University of Otago, [n.d., 1998?]: 3.

could be asked: what the rates of social mobility were in colonial New Zealand compared with those in the United Kingdom (or elsewhere) at the same time, or, how far did the social mobility experienced by early colonists match their expectations? If comparative material is unavailable for another society (as would be required for the first question) the solution would be to change to the second question and make comparisons, not with another society, but with the expected ideal. Problems caused by different scales or a paucity of comparison material are avoided, and the conclusions will still be meaningful.

Another way of utilising the powerful tool of comparison, without requiring other similar studies, is to compare the findings with what would be expected under conditions of 'perfect mobility' – the situation where there was complete statistical independence between destination and origin, so that the social position held by the parent did not influence the child.²³ For this mode of comparison, the data must include inter-generational information, but again it allows meaningful discussion of social mobility rates even in situations where other comparative data are not available.

All of the problems discussed above involve one common factor: all can be solved by thinking carefully about the society which is to be studied. As has been shown, the type of questions which can be answered, what theoretical assumptions are appropriate, and which methods need to be used, are necessarily influenced by the structure of the society, what data are available, and what similar studies have been carried out. Before we look specifically at the theory to be used in this thesis, it is necessary to see what work has been done on social mobility, and how other historians have approached it.

Other works on social mobility

North America

Probably the largest body of work on social mobility has focused on the United States. North America's traditional perception of being a 'land of opportunity' for the early settlers provided fertile ground for investigation into social mobility, and

²³ Anthony Heath, *Social Mobility*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1981: 258; Abercrombie et al., *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*: 388.

many studies were carried out to test how accurate this 'insider's view' actually was. Of these, arguably the most well-known studies involving nineteenth-century social mobility are works by Stephan Thernstrom, Merle Curti, and Don Harrison Doyle.²⁴ These historians were provided with a mine of data on individuals through the original nineteenth-century census enumerators' schedules.²⁵ By utilising this wealth of information, they have effectively reconstructed whole societies in order to answer questions on demography, occupational and social structure, transience, and mobility over time.

Merle Curti's *Making of an American Community* looks at all of these aspects, including vertical and horizontal mobility, of rural-based Trempealeau county, a frontier county in Wisconsin. Much of the data Curti gathered were then compared with what could be expected under Turner's frontier thesis. Doyle's *Social Order of a Frontier Community* focuses on Jacksonville, a city in the American west which sprang up from nothing to become a medium-sized city of around 10,000 by 1870. This, too, is a community-based study which provides information on vertical and horizontal mobility, and in this case Doyle's main interest is with the building of social structures, the cementing of a sense of community, and various factors which helped or hindered in these. In contrast to these two studies of frontier settlements, Stephan Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress* examines a New England city, Newburyport, specifically focusing on the mobility chances for unskilled manual workers. Despite the obvious differences in type of locale being studied in these three works, what is perhaps most surprising is how many similarities there are in their findings.

All three studies determined that, indeed, some indicators of social mobility were high, supporting the contemporary conception of the United States as a 'land of opportunity.' Both Curti and Doyle found high rates of upward occupational mobility in their frontier communities, while in Newburyport, it was the rate of

²⁴ Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*; Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier Community*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1959; Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*.

Thernstrom's later work, *The Other Bostonians*, is better known than *Poverty and Progress*, however, as the earlier work was a pioneering work it has been chosen as an example.

²⁵ For an article on the type of information to be found in these schedules, and ways in which the information could be used see Barnes F. Lathrop, 'History from the Census Returns', in Seymour Martin Lipset and Richard Hofstadter (eds), *Sociology and History: Methods*, Basic Books, New York, 1968: 79-101.

property mobility which Thernstrom found the most striking.²⁶ All three also found that as the nineteenth-century went on, these mobility rates started to fall.

Curti looked at both occupational mobility and economic mobility, with an emphasis on the amount and value of land held, and found that from 1860 until 1880, Trempealeau county offered high rates of mobility to farm labourers, 'farmers' (those who were listed as farmers, but who did not own improved land), and farm operators. Although the second decade offered slightly lower chances than the first, the rates were still high. Also, Turner's frontier thesis is supported by the fact that over the two decades, although all groups experienced upward mobility, the farm labourers had the highest with 'farmers' and farm operators next respectively – thus equalising opportunities over time. The same pattern emerged when mobility was looked at in terms of groups based on amount of land held.²⁷

Doyle, too, looked at occupational mobility rates. He found that although

few unskilled labourers remained [in Jacksonville] over the course of either decade [1850s and 1860s], the opportunities for upward occupational mobility were sufficient to allow 30-50 percent to move up one or more rungs on the occupational ladder.²⁸

Again, the earlier rate for unskilled labourers experiencing upward mobility (47 per cent for 1850-1860) was higher than the later rate (29 per cent in 1860-1870).²⁹ When looking at mobility in terms of a two tier white-collar/blue-collar divide, and comparing this with average mobility figures for the time, Doyle also found that Jacksonville offered the blue-collar work force occupational mobility rates almost twice the norm.³⁰

Both occupational and property mobility were examined by Thernstrom, and, again, mobility rates decreased throughout the century, with the chances for occupational

²⁶ Curti, *The Making of an American Community*: 176-221; Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*: 102, 262-263; Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*: 197-198.

²⁷ Curti, *The Making of an American Community*: 176-221.

²⁸ Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*: 102.

²⁹ The upward mobility rates for all occupational groupings (Business-Professional; Skilled, proprietor; Skilled non-proprietor; Unskilled) decreased over this period, as did the downward mobility rates. At the same time the percentage who were occupationally stable also increased slightly (62 per cent 1850-60, 68 per cent 1860-70). It is also interesting to note that in both decades the upwardly mobile easily outnumber those who experienced downward mobility. Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*: 262-263.

³⁰ Doyle's average mobility figures, or, 'the norm,' were from Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*: 234. Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*: 103.

mobility of adult labourers being greater before 1850 than after.³¹ Instead of using a simple manual/non-manual or blue-collar/white-collar scale, Thernstrom used a four-tiered occupational scale – unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and non-manual – giving some interesting insights into the kinds of mobility which were experienced. In contrast to the rags-to-riches myth, Thernstrom found that while there was a degree of occupational mobility, it was not generally very far up the social ladder, that is, the move from unskilled to semi-skilled was far more likely than from unskilled to skilled or non-manual.³² This short-range mobility has been noted often, even in contemporary works such as Westergaard and Resler's review of Glass's British mobility figures.³³ The main barrier to social mobility would then seem to be the basic manual/non-manual divide so the value of a basic two tier system can be seen. Movement across this barrier would indicate an exceptional situation. As mentioned before, though, for Thernstrom it was the property mobility, rather than occupational mobility which stood out.³⁴

The high levels of upward mobility found in all of these studies also tie in with the rates of horizontal mobility, or transience. Although Curti found that the mobility and transience rates were high across all occupations, property holdings, and ages, he also found that the main incentives for persistence were occupation and property; that is, the higher up the occupational scale an individual was, or the larger his property holdings were, the more likely it was that he would remain in the area.³⁵ This correlation suggests that an increase in social mobility would lead to a decrease in geographical mobility.

A clear link between the two types of mobility was also found by Doyle. Transience levels were higher in less skilled jobs than in those with higher prestige, and those with property were two to three times more likely to stay in Jacksonville for over 10 years than those who did not own property. Overall, Doyle found that marriage, occupation, and property holdings were more likely to hold people than even kinship

³¹ Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*: 113.

³² Ibid: 114.

³³ Heath, *Social Mobility*: 32.

³⁴ Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*: 197-8.

³⁵ Curti, *The Making of an American Community*: 176-221.

ties.³⁶ The high geographical mobility of unskilled labourers was also noted by Thernstrom, as was a strong 'correlation between property ownership and persistence.'³⁷

One of the interesting implications of this link between horizontal and vertical mobility can be seen in Thernstrom's statement that 'the great majority of families who settled in the community for very long were able to make at least a modest social advance.'³⁸ This gives us a 'chicken and egg' problem – is it, as Thernstrom's statement suggests, but does not make explicit, that horizontal stability increased one's chances of upward social mobility, or was it, instead, as Curti implied, that the upward mobility caused the horizontal stability? Conversely, while it could be assumed that transience encourages downward social mobility, it could instead be true that it is the downward mobility which forces one to be transient.³⁹ Unfortunately, it is very difficult to decide which is the cause and which the outcome, or if it is a combination of the two. The problem is, however, worth keeping in mind.

What, then, do these works say about the mobility chances of the specific group that is being studied in this thesis, that of farm labourers? Doyle does not look specifically at farm labourers, or rural society as such, so we must rely on the observations of Curti and Thernstrom for an indication of what was happening for nineteenth-century farm labourers in North America.

³⁶ Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*: 98, 107, 118. As one of Doyle's main interests was the social structures of the Jacksonville community, transience was of interest because, theoretically, a large transient population should mean a weakening of social ties. However, Doyle found that in Jacksonville the practice of having boarders may have provided a stabilising force. About half of the households in Jacksonville had at least one unrelated lodger boarding with them, some of whom were servants, employees or occasionally apprentices, and most of whom were young, single, propertyless, transient, manual workers. Rather than being boarding houses as such, two thirds of the households had only one or two boarders, so, with only about one sixth of boarders living in boarding houses or tenements, the majority of transients must have had at least some contact with stable households. This housing system 'served as a central organizing force for most of the population, even for those unattached young men who drifted through town.' Doyle: 113-115.

³⁷ Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*: 31, 85, 118.

³⁸ Ibid: 152.

³⁹ This relationship had also been observed previously in a study of Norristown (a medium sized city near Philadelphia) from 1910-1950. In this, after finding that 'migration more frequently was associated with downward mobility than with upward mobility', Sidney Goldstein does not discuss the cause and effect, but notes 'that a complementary inverse relationship exists between migration and occupational mobility.' He does, however, question whether this is normal, or whether the pattern may change in times of depression or prosperity. Sidney Goldstein, *Patterns of Mobility 1910-1950 the Norristown Study: A Method for Measuring Migration and Occupational Mobility in the Community*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1958: 53-54, 234.

When looking at property and occupational mobility, Curti found that many farm labourers and 'farmers' (those listed as farmers but without improved land) owned property even though they still worked for others.⁴⁰ Land ownership shows that some independence from the fluctuations of the labour market had been established, but, as the owners were still working for others, they had obviously not established freedom from wage-dependency.

In a similar vein, Thernstrom found that several of the property owners in his labouring group were actually farmers who hired themselves and their teams out in busy seasons and accordingly reported their occupation as 'laborer.'⁴¹ Again, they were still reliant to some degree on wage labour. What is probably most surprising with Newburyport's property mobility, though, is how it changed over the century. Although home ownership by labourers was rare in the 1850s, with only 18 out of 191 labourers in 1850 owning any real property (9.42 per cent),⁴² it was still higher than elsewhere - for instance in Bristol in 1830, 0.3 per cent of manual labourers owned their own homes.⁴³ Then, between 1850 and 1880, the situation in Newburyport changed dramatically. Despite decreasing occupational mobility, property mobility noticeably improved: 'Real estate was strikingly available to working class men who remained in Newburyport for any length of time.'⁴⁴ After 10 years in Newburyport a third to a half of his workmen accumulated some property, and after 20 years it had risen to between 63 and 78 per cent.⁴⁵ This phenomenal mobility makes the insider's view ring true. It is also especially relevant to this thesis as most of the first-generation labourers found high mobility through agriculture, while business pursuits were more profitable for their sons.⁴⁶ It waits to be seen if farm labourers in New Zealand were as fortunate.

Overall, these three works show that conditions in the United States were not likely to produce 'rags-to-riches' mobility. Even so, in many cases the chances for small increases in social status were higher than elsewhere. Although there is no doubt that

⁴⁰ Curti, *The Making of an American Community*: 150-151.

⁴¹ Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*: 28.

⁴² Ibid: 28.

⁴³ Ibid: 116.

⁴⁴ Ibid: 117.

⁴⁵ Ibid: 117.

⁴⁶ Ibid: 139-143.

levels of mobility never reached those of 'perfect mobility,' it seems that, compared to other societies, some dimensions of social mobility were better. The contemporary conception of the United States as a land of opportunity was largely correct.

Australia

Australia was seen as another country where settlers could 'get on.' However, unlike America, there does not seem to be a consensus as to whether the chances for social mobility in nineteenth-century Australia were high or low. Two studies on social mobility in nineteenth-century Australia supporting the view of high mobility are Graeme Davison's 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia' and Haines, Kleinig, Oxley and Richards' 'Migration and Opportunity: An Antipodean Perspective.'⁴⁷

Davison discusses mobility in Australia and shows that immigrants to Australia in the nineteenth century had much the same expectations as those going to New Zealand. The Victorian belief in 'self-help' was strong, with immigrants tending to believe in hard work and thrift, rather than relying on chance or luck.⁴⁸ Davison also finds that transience rates were high (although they decreased as the century went on) and that early immigration to Australia gave the best chance for success. As in North America, the settlers saw ownership of land as a vital step to independence.⁴⁹

Haines, Kleinig, Oxley and Richards looked at the experience of various groups of Australian immigrants; 'crowds of miserable Irish,' 'single women,' and, most relevant for this paper, 'immigrant workers.' Like the majority of labourers in New Zealand these immigrant workers were generally multi-skilled or, at least, willing to put their hands to almost any task. Using qualitative methods, similar to Rollo Arnold's biographical case studies, Haines found that for these labourers the conditions in Australia were superior to those left behind in Britain, and that the opportunities for success were also better.⁵⁰ Despite the fact that this sort of

⁴⁷ Graeme Davison. 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888*, Bulletin No. 2., 1979: 7-32; Robin Haines, Mergrette Kleinig, Deborah Oxley, and Eric Richards. 'Migration and Opportunity: An Antipodean Perspective', *International Review of Social History*, 42, 1998: 235-263.

⁴⁸ See also Davison, Graeme, and Shirley Constantine, *Out of Work Again*, Monash Publications in History, Monash University, Clayton, 1990.

⁴⁹ Davison, 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia': 7-32.

⁵⁰ Haines et al., 'Migration and Opportunity': 235-263.

qualitative analysis does not show the proportion of labourers who 'get on,' it does show that, at least for some, the chance was there.

Other historians are reluctant to support the conclusions of high rates of upward mobility. Duncan Bythell, Charles Fahey and Shirley Fisher all found evidence which did not support the idea of Australia as a 'land of opportunity.'⁵¹ Bythell's article specifically investigates the differences and similarities between the perception of contemporaries and the reality of colonial life. He agrees that immigrants to Australia were wooed with visions of a country where sober, hard-working individuals could succeed with relative ease, and where the land was suited for farming and the climate pleasant. Despite this, he finds that some of the aspects of colonial life which the immigrants were expecting, were not actually there, especially in terms of state institutions and politics:

Although the workhouse for the able-bodied was unknown in Australia, the institutional provision for the *non*-able-bodied poor, in homes, orphanages, and asylums, was harsh and parsimonious. The State education system might indeed be secular, but the elementary schools which the state provided were separate from the private institutions of secondary and higher education, and educational opportunities for working-class children were hardly better than they were in Britain. Similarly although they lacked hereditary titles, the great sheep-owners, or squatters, who controlled the pastoral industry of the interior had an uncanny knack of generally managing to end up with control of the best land, to the disadvantage of the would-be small farmer. Finally even the political system was less democratic than it seemed: in the early days, appointed Governors were inclined to play a more active role in the colonies than did the monarch back home, whilst Upper Houses elected on narrow property qualifications could be every bit as conservative and obstructive of the popular will as the British House of Lords. Perhaps even more remarkably, few working men actually entered the democratic lower houses: no working-class-based political parties emerged before the late 1880s, and issues of peculiar and exclusive interest to wage-earners seldom featured prominently on the parliamentary agenda. In short, if the Australian colonies really were a wage-earner's paradise in the forty years after the gold rushes in Victoria, it owed little to the fact that working men had the vote.⁵²

Bythell claims that the land was never really opened up for the small farmers in the manner put forward by the frontier thesis, with most immigrants remaining in the cities and towns where they arrived. Citing a study on Sydney,⁵³ he also posits that chances for geographical and occupational mobility were poor, and that a hereditary

⁵¹ Duncan Bythell, 'The Working Man's Paradise? Myth and Reality in Australian History, 1850-1914', *Durham University Journal*, 81 (1), 1988: 162-183; Charles Fahey, 'Wealth and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth Century Bendigo', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888*, Bulletin No. 2., 1979: 66-80; Shirley Fisher, 'The Mobility Myth: Some Sydney Evidence', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888*, Bulletin No. 2., 1979: 81-84.

⁵² Bythell, 'The Working Man's Paradise?': 4-5.

⁵³ Fitzgerald, Shirley, *Rising Damp: Sydney 1870-1890*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1987.

class system was in place by the end of the century.⁵⁴ Bythell accepts that at times a shortage of labour improved the labourers' situation, and that there were successes such as the introduction of the eight-hour day. Overall, though, he claims that the reality of Australia, especially from the 1850s until the 1890s, was at odds with the image of the working man's paradise.

Charles Fahey used probate records to examine the wealth and social mobility of miners in Bendigo, with some comparison to that of labourers and other occupations.⁵⁵ As could be expected there were some 'rags-to-riches' experiences, but overall mobility rates were not that dramatic. Most miners who left probates did not attain high levels of wealth (only 0.5 per cent had property greater than or equal to £1000, although a further 57.9 per cent did have a stake in landed property but were not probated.) the figures for both occupational mobility and wealth at death were slightly higher than for labourers (only 1 labourer was probated - with property of £300, and 45.9 per cent held a stake in landed property but were not probated.)⁵⁶ Again, these figures, he believes, hardly support the image of a 'land of opportunity.'

Another work which looks specifically at mobility is Shirley Fisher's 'The Mobility Myth: Some Sydney Evidence.' Like Bythell and Fahey, she found evidence which questions contemporary belief in high rates of upward mobility. Using the marriage certificates of 1870 and 1887, Fisher found that downward inter-generational occupational mobility rates were higher than upward rates in 1870 (upward 13 per cent, downward 20 per cent) and in 1887 (upward 16 per cent, downward 29 per cent).⁵⁷

While all these works on Australia provide evidence which can be used to either support or question the validity of contemporary mobility beliefs, they do not seem to reach agreement as to what actually happened. This uncertainty indicates that conditions in Australia were probably not quite as conducive to upward social mobility as in the United States, where historians provided obvious support for a similar 'insider's view.' Neither country claims to have had high long-range

⁵⁴ Bythell, 'The Working Man's Paradise?': 5.

⁵⁵ Fahey, 'Wealth and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth Century Bendigo': 66-80.

⁵⁶ Ibid: 66-80.

⁵⁷ Fisher, 'The Mobility Myth': 81-84.

mobility, but American historians seem more certain than their Australian counterparts that there was short-range mobility, and that it was not insignificant.

New Zealand

When looking at the mass of colonial propaganda and literature on New Zealand, four main themes are apparent: 'that New Zealand was a country of natural abundance, that it provided ample opportunities for labouring people to win an "independency," that it was a society which naturally created a high level of order, and that its simple life guaranteed middle-class people freedom from status anxiety.'⁵⁸ These beliefs make up New Zealand's 'insider's view.'

Clearly there are similarities between the nineteenth century perceptions of colonial New Zealand, and that of the United States and Australia. Unfortunately it is difficult to find New Zealand studies which have studied mobility in a way which is useful for testing the reality of the colonists' beliefs in the context of this thesis. Although many works focus on urban social mobility,⁵⁹ or fleetingly touch on aspects of rural social mobility,⁶⁰ very few deal specifically with rural social mobility in the nineteenth century. The main secondary sources primarily come from three authors

⁵⁸ Fairburn, *Ideal Society*: 25.

⁵⁹ Urban social mobility studies have provided the bulk of New Zealand social mobility material, a large amount of which has been produced as part of 'The Caversham Project' which is probably the largest in-depth social history study in New Zealand. This is solely urban based and looks at, among other things, vertical and horizontal mobility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Olssen, *Building the New World*; Olssen and James, 'Social Mobility and Class Formation'; Erik Olssen, Tom Brooking, Brian Heenan, Hamish James, Bruce McLennan, and Clyde Griffen, 'Urban society and the opportunity structure in New Zealand, 1902-22: The Caversham Project', *Social History*, 24(1), 1999 [Caversham Project, Research Report 1]: 39-54; Tom Brooking, Dick Martin, David Thomson, and Hamish James, 'The Ties That Bind: Persistence in a New World Industrial Suburb, 1902-22', *Social History*, 24(1), 1999 [Caversham Project, Research Report 2]: 55-73.

Other studies which have examined social mobility – again primarily in an urban setting – include D. A. Hamer, 'Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 13(1), 1979: 5-24; Husbands, 'The People of Freeman's Bay 1880-1914'; Paul M. Meuli, 'Occupational Change and Bourgeois Proliferation: A Study of New Middle Class Expansion in New Zealand 1896-1926', M.A. thesis, Victoria University, 1977; Pearson, *Johnsonville*; D. G. Pearson, 'Small-Town Capitalism and Stratification in New Zealand 1880-1930', *NZJH*, 14(2), 1980: 107-131; David Pearson, and David C. Thorns, 'A Tale of Two Cities: Marriage and Mobility in New Zealand', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 22(2), 1986: 208-224; David Pearson, 'Marriage and Mobility in Wellington 1881-1980', *NZJH*, 22(2), 1988: 135-151.

⁶⁰ Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand'; Peter John Gibbons, "'Turning Tramps into Taxpayers"- the Department of Labour and the Casual Labourer in the 1890s', M.A. thesis, Massey University, 1970; Pickens, 'Canterbury 1851-1881'; K. A. Pickens, 'Occupational Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century British Colony', *Journal of Social History*, 11(3), 1978: 404-412; Claire Toynbee, 'Class and Mobility in Nineteenth Century Wellington Province: An Exploratory Study of Immigrants Arriving 1840-1880', M.A. thesis, Victoria University, 1979.

whose work examines the social mobility of rural workers in a context which is ideal for contrasting to the insider's view – Rollo Arnold, John E. Martin, and Miles Fairburn. Before we move on to their work, though, we shall outline what has been found in the more general context.

The first point of agreement across nearly all the works is that land-ownership not only carried prestige, but was the main route for social mobility.⁶¹ Various studies have also found that upward mobility rates were high for most indicators which were studied. For instance, Claire Toynbee's study of immigrants to Wellington found that over 50 per cent had upward occupational mobility, while 60 per cent of the sample were either self employed ('own account') or were employers in their major lifetime occupation; similarly Margaret Galt's study of wealth in New Zealand showed that there were high rates of wealth accumulation.⁶² Both Hatch and Loveridge, who specifically looked at rural labour, also claimed that nineteenth-century social mobility rates were high, but these comments seem to have been inferred from secondary sources rather than their own primary research.⁶³ Only one of the urban studies openly disagrees with the high rates of upward mobility, finding instead that there was stability.⁶⁴ As in North America and Australia, upward mobility was most likely to be short-range rather than a rags-to-riches type, and decreasing opportunities benefited early arrivals. High rates of transience were also noted in colonial New Zealand, and like the vertical mobility, this tended to be short-range.⁶⁵ The same inverse relationship between property holdings and geographical mobility which was found overseas was also noted in some New Zealand studies.

Although we have not gone into great detail on the findings of these general and non-rural based studies of New Zealand, the overall impression is of a society with high rates of short-range vertical and horizontal mobility, especially for early arrivals

⁶¹ Tom Brooking, 'Use it or Lose It: Unravelling the Land Debate in Late Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 30(2), 1996: 142; Meuli, 'Occupational Change and Bourgeois Proliferation': 128-129; Robert Russell Hall, 'Te Kohurau: Continuity and Change in a New Zealand Rural District', Ph.D. Thesis, Canterbury University, 1987: 23; Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand': 146; Toynbee, 'Class and Mobility in Nineteenth Century Wellington Province': 114.

⁶² Toynbee, 'Class and Mobility in Nineteenth Century Wellington Province': 93-95, 103; Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand'.

⁶³ Hatch, *Respectable Lives*: 16; Alison Margaret Loveridge, 'Class and Occupational Mobility among Farm Employees', Ph.D. thesis, Auckland University, 1991: 30.

⁶⁴ Pearson and Thorns, 'A Tale of Two Cities': 222.

⁶⁵ Husbands, 'The People of Freeman's Bay 1880-1914': 126-7; Pickens, 'Canterbury 1851-1881': 54.

– much as would be expected under the insider's view. How do these conclusions compare with the findings of the specifically rural based studies of Arnold, Martin and Fairburn?

Both Arnold and Martin have looked at social mobility as part of their research into various nineteenth-century rural workers, and Fairburn's research on the structure of New Zealand society also includes material on rural social mobility.⁶⁶ These three works cover both of the theories mentioned in the introduction – that of a rural apprenticeship, and that of the emergence of a rural proletariat – and each provides different 'problems' for this thesis.

As was seen above, the rural apprenticeship, stepping-stone, or agricultural ladder thesis has also been applied to both the United States and Australia. In New Zealand, as in these other countries, land ownership was viewed by contemporaries as the major route to independence, and agricultural labour was seen as merely an intermediary step to land ownership and self-employed farming.⁶⁷ Fairburn and Arnold agree that in colonial New Zealand this was not just a fanciful dream, but was actually possible. Both, however, take different approaches to demonstrate it.⁶⁸

Arnold, like Haines, takes a largely qualitative approach where biographical sketches are used to show that movement up the agricultural ladder was reality for many.⁶⁹ A similar approach was later used by Jim McAloon to show that many of the wealthiest men in Canterbury and Otago had started off their colonial careers as rural labourers.⁷⁰ This argument that New Zealand was a 'land of opportunity' is further strengthened by Arnold's use of vivid comparison between conditions found in New Zealand and those left behind. In England a situation of almost complete dependence on the gentry had been brought about, in part, by the enclosure movement of the

⁶⁶ Arnold, 'The Dream and the Reality': 4-11; *The Farthest Promised Land*; Fairburn, *Ideal Society*; Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*.

⁶⁷ Similarly in A. Mutch, 'The "Farming Ladder" in Northern Lancashire, 1840-1914: Myth or Reality?', *Northern History*, 27, 1991: 162-183, the rural apprenticeship thesis was applied in an English setting. Again for believers in this 'farming ladder' (the idea of which had sprung from Victorian theories of self-help) land ownership was the main route to success.

⁶⁸ They are also supported by Erik Olssen. Even though by the late 1880s the chances of acquiring land were steadily decreasing in a depressed economy, he considers that as late as '1888 average land values were well within the reach of someone working as a general station hand.' Erik Olssen and Marcia Stenson, *A Century of Change*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1989, 316-318.

⁶⁹ Both *The Farthest Promised Land*, and the earlier article, 'The Dream and the Reality': 4-11, use this method.

⁷⁰ Jim McAloon, 'The Colonial Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago: No Idle Rich', *NZJH*, 30(1), 1996: 43-60.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The decline in cottage industry after the industrial revolution aggravated the situation. Before enclosure a 'cottager with a pig or two, a cow and some poultry, on the common, and the right to gather firewood, could maintain a certain measure of economic independence. After enclosure he was purely a dependent wage labourer.'⁷¹ In comparison, New Zealand offered real opportunity of land ownership resulting in financial independence and a feeling of equality between man and master.⁷²

An important point raised by Arnold is the part which marriage and family could play in the success of an immigrant. A wife was a definite advantage in the new land, both by providing (along with any children) unpaid labour on the family farm, and also in helping secure stable employment. Most of the

assisted immigrants who succeeded as farmers in New Zealand were those who arrived as married men with little or no capital. On the Canterbury Feldon they found several ways of building up the savings needed to get into farming. If they had no family, or only one or two children, there was a good chance of gaining employment for both husband or wife on a squatter's station. With food and accommodation provided as part of the bargain, good savings could be made.⁷³

Even for those who could not depend on the stable employment and savings opportunities which came with a permanent station position, and instead had to take whatever labouring work was available, the situation was still better than in England. Although on the surface conditions appear to be similar, 'the easy access to a freehold home, and the vastly different economic and social context meant that in reality they too were entering on a new life.'⁷⁴

While accepting that not all who came to New Zealand would succeed, Arnold supports the settlers' perceptions that their new home would offer better opportunities, and a less arduous lifestyle. The colony's 'relatively easy ladder to farm ownership, and its lack of marked class barriers, gave to rural life and work an easy, pleasant tone, too rarely found in England.'⁷⁵

⁷¹ Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*: 20.

⁷² It is worth noting the dearth of actual empirical data on the supposed low opportunities for upward mobility in nineteenth century Britain. This deficiency has been noted by Claire Toynbee, and the prevailing view has since been questioned by A. Mutch. Toynbee, 'Class and Mobility in Nineteenth Century Wellington Province': 2n; Mutch, 'The "Farming Ladder" in Northern Lancashire, 1840-1914: Myth or Reality?': 162-183.

⁷³ Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*: 268-9

⁷⁴ Ibid: 276.

⁷⁵ Ibid: 343.

A different approach to the question of social mobility is taken by Miles Fairburn. While he also agrees that the popular perception of New Zealand as a labourer's paradise was largely correct (despite some serious social problems) the conclusions rely more on quantitative information, with qualitative evidence mainly used to highlight certain aspects of the insider's view.⁷⁶ The main type of mobility explored by Fairburn was geographical mobility or transience. High transience rates were found, between 33 and 74 per cent of households disappeared over ten year periods, with the median of 57.5 per cent comparable to the top end rates for North America. This comparison indicates that colonial New Zealanders tended to be more mobile than their American counterparts. While transience is not the main focus of this thesis it is worth noting that Fairburn also found a strong link between transience and property holdings, with persistence more likely with increased property.⁷⁷ Although not studied in great detail, vertical mobility also plays a part in this work. Fairburn avoids problems involved in the construction of an occupational ranking scale (for instance blurring of occupational titles), by using land ownership, rather than occupation, as the primary indicator of mobility.⁷⁸ An assessment of figures taken from the Freeholders' Return leads Fairburn to claim that around half the adult males in New Zealand owned freehold land by 1882. This on its own is a large proportion, and it must be remembered that land could also be leased privately or from the Crown, giving many of the benefits of land ownership. Between 33.6 and 46 per cent of the freeholders were manual workers (by stated occupation), accounting for between 23 and 32 per cent of all manual males, and 36.4 per cent of working-class households owned their own home. Again, this does not take into account leasehold property. Despite land ownership not being up to the levels intimated by the idealised 'insider's view' Fairburn concludes that 'land was far more accessible in

⁷⁶ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*. It is worth noting that, although this work was criticised for its argument that high transience rates led to a rootless and atomised society (see *NZJH*, 25(2), 1991), no one has challenged the validity of Fairburn's argument supporting the 'insider's view' in terms of the available opportunities for success, nor, in the main, the overall high rates of transience. As atomisation, a lack of social ties, violence and other social ills, or indeed the opposite, is of little importance to this thesis, Fairburn's work remains valid.

⁷⁷ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*: 129-30.

⁷⁸ For a discussion of why land ownership could be a better indicator of mobility than occupation, see Miles Fairburn, 'Social Mobility and Opportunity in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 13(1), 1979: 43-64.

New Zealand than in many other societies for which we have comparable statistics.’⁷⁹

It must be realised that while these high land ownership rates do not necessarily mean ownership of farms, even a house or small plot of land could help insulate a labourer from the effects of labour market fluctuations: ‘Colonial working men with households used their sections as a surrogate welfare state, growing as much of their food as possible to provide against irregular employment.’⁸⁰ As well as providing accommodation and food which could save money or supplement wages, mortgage payments were generally less frequent than rent so one was less likely to become homeless in times of underemployment; landed assets could be liquidated if necessary; and rental income or capital gains from speculation were possible.⁸¹ Even just as a form of insurance it is easy to see why land ownership was seen as a means of ‘getting on.’

Not all historians agree that land was easily accessible, allowing labourers to work their way up the agricultural ladder with relative ease. While accepting that land ownership was the key to upward mobility, John E. Martin claims that ‘both mobility and access to land were limited,’ ‘only a very small minority of rural workers owned land, and that their holdings were generally very small,’ and that although permanent ‘found’ hands were able to save and move up the agricultural ladder, ‘[f]arm ownership was ... beyond the resources of many rural workers.’⁸² As land ownership was so important to social mobility chances, these statements would seem to have serious implications for the idea of a rural apprenticeship.

The basis for these claims can be found in an earlier paper by Martin which involved an analysis of a sample from the 1882 Freeholders’ Return.⁸³ In this paper, Martin found that although ‘rural workers’ made up 8.7 per cent of the entire labour force at the time, they comprised only 0.72 per cent of total freeholders. At the same time he found that the value and acreage of land held was significantly lower for rural workers than for freeholders as a whole, with rural workers owning on average 86.5

⁷⁹ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*: 91-93.o

⁸⁰ Ibid: 41.

⁸¹ Ibid: 100-3.

⁸² Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 2.

⁸³ Martin, ‘Rural workers and the Freeholders’ Returns of 1882’. Many of the figures used in Martin’s paper came from a sample collected by Claire Toynbee.

acres of country land, compared to 178.8 acres for all freeholders; the average total value of land for rural workers was £251.4, compared to £908.2 for all freeholders, a situation which is hardly suggestive of a rural apprenticeship.

The discrepancies between the findings of Martin, and those of Arnold and Fairburn will now be examined in relation to various problems that arise from their theory, methodology, and underlying assumptions.

The approach taken by Arnold has two weaknesses. Firstly, as the main source was 'letters home,' or similar documents which had primarily been used to encourage emigration, there is a large possibility of bias. Secondly, while he certainly shows that some farm labourers experienced social mobility, his qualitative approach is impressionistic. By looking at biographical sketches of success stories, he gives us a view of only the top of the social mobility pyramid. While it is important to know that people from the labouring base of the pyramid could make it to the top, the question of how large the base was to begin with still remains unanswered.⁸⁴ Despite these weaknesses, the evidence which Arnold has given does show that the rural apprenticeship theory is plausible, although not proven.

As Fairburn's findings of high vertical and horizontal mobility have remained largely unchallenged they are still valid for this thesis.⁸⁵ His focus on overall society, rather than on individual cases, shows that the rural apprenticeship thesis should be possible but he cannot confirm its existence.

⁸⁴ This is also the case with Jim McAloon's work on the colonial wealthy. The failings of this approach have been noted by many historians. As John E. Martin points out, evidence of the movement up the farming ladder of wage labourers is largely 'drawn from specific accounts of individuals who were successful.' 'Looking back to the origins of those who were successful tells us little about how widespread their experience was. Very little is heard of those who failed.' (Martin, 'Rural workers and the Freeholders' Returns of 1882': 2) in a different context, when talking about the social composition of 'the higher civil service in the first four decades of the republic,' Thernstrom says that 'little, regrettably can be learned about the range of mobility opportunities at the lower and middle levels from surveys of those who rose to the very top.' Stephan Thernstrom, 'Notes on the Historical Study of Social Mobility', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10(2), 1968: 163.

⁸⁵ The only grounds on which it seems valid to challenge the transience figures, is questioning the accuracy of the students' work which supplied the data, and that the transience figures for predominantly North Island localities have been extrapolated to show the levels for New Zealand as a whole. As this was not done for the land-holding figures (which were taken from national statistics), and as transience is not a major part of this thesis, Fairburn's work is still considered legitimate for this study.

More serious are the problems evident in Martin's study. In this case, the primary problems exist within the underlying methodology and assumptions. While these do not necessarily mean that Martin's evidence is actually wrong, the use of it often seems to be misleading – especially supporting the claims that very few rural workers were able to purchase land, the primary means of upward mobility.

In the *Forgotten Worker*, Martin correctly maintains that permanent workers tended to be better paid than casual or seasonal workers, and therefore had better chances of saving, especially if they were 'found' (had their food and accommodation provided), and he accepts that many permanent workers did buy land.⁸⁶ As well as generally lower wages, casual workers also had the problem of unstable employment, often facing the prospect of being unemployed, or under-employed, for long periods of time. Using the 1874 and 1891 census figures, Martin attempts to work out how many casual and seasonal workers there were compared to permanent employees. He states that

throughout the nineteenth century rural workers in the core permanent occupations of arable [cropping, grain growing, etc.] farm labourer and station hand comprised a relatively stable proportion of about one-third of the total year-round rural workforce.⁸⁷

(This total rural workforce includes those not working for a wage, such as self-employed or contract workers, and unpaid relatives.) Even with arable farming employing about three-quarters of the total number of rural wage earners, and there being two farm labourers for every employer in this sector, Martin claims that these large numbers did not dominate because of the large number of self-employed family farmers also engaged in arable farming. Meanwhile in the smaller pastoral [sheep farming] sector, the permanent station hands apparently made up between 'two-thirds and three-quarters of the total labour force.'⁸⁸ Using the census figures, and some rather dubious methods for determining the number of casual and seasonal workers,⁸⁹ Martin concludes that 'during shearing and harvesting when seasonal

⁸⁶ Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 3. This is reflected in examples given in *The Farthest Promised Land*, as most of the cases of mobility Arnold cites appear to be those of permanent workers.

⁸⁷ Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 13.

⁸⁸ Ibid: 13.

⁸⁹ Martin admits that 'it is impossible to be accurate about the actual size of the casual and seasonal labour pool....However, rough estimates can be ventured.' Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 14. Martin's method for working out the number of casual and seasonal workers is based on the figures involved in the 1891 census (a time when there was a surplus of labour) and appears to involve a large amount of assumption. While there may be errors in these figures they do offer us a worst case scenario which can be used.

workers were added, the numbers earning a wage doubled and made up nearly half of the enlarged rural workforce.⁹⁰ This statement shows that the number of permanent workers, and the number of casual seasonal workers, are about the same. It follows that, as the number of wage earners makes up only half of the total rural workforce, the number of employers, plus self-employed contractors, farmers and their families, must make up the other half. Remembering that rural wage earners made up nearly half of the rural work force, does Martin's claim, that many rural wage earners could not save enough to purchase land, stand up? And how possible was it therefore to 'get on'?

As Martin indicated, the number of permanent workers is about the same as the number of casual and seasonal workers, and he says that it would be possible for the permanent workers to save and purchase land; this then leaves an equal number of the casual and seasonal workers unable to save. However, the figures Martin uses to find out the number of casual and seasonal workers show that almost 20 per cent already owned land (the smallholders). The rural wage earners therefore break down into the following sections: 50 per cent were permanent workers; a further 10 per cent already owned land; and the remaining 40 per cent were casual and seasonal workers, presumably without land. These figures indicate that of the rural wage earners, at least 60 per cent, by Martin's own figures, had the ability to purchase, or had already purchased, land.⁹¹

With Martin's acceptance that access to land ownership is a means of upward social and occupational mobility, it follows that, even in 1891 when the country was trying to escape from depression, a minimum of 60 per cent of the rural wage earners had the opportunity for exactly that mobility. Although this does not mean that Martin is wrong (his perception that there were rural wage earners who could not save enough to purchase land is not incorrect) it does put into perspective the percentage of rural wage earners who are involved. Indeed, the permanent workers, who had the means to save, the employers, the self-employed, those casual workers who already owned land, and all the family members who were in a position to inherit some land, together made up approximately 80 per cent of the total rural labour force. This

⁹⁰ Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 14,15.

⁹¹ This is in line with the figure given in a *Century of Change*, where Olssen claims that in 1891, 52 per cent of wage and salary earners owned some land: 317.

figure reinforces the views of Fairburn and Arnold that in New Zealand there was the opportunity for social and occupational mobility, and it was possible, through rural apprenticeship, to 'get on.' Obviously not everyone took the opportunity, but it definitely was there.

Martin's definition of 'rural workers' also creates problems, especially for claims of 'mobility.' He defines them as specifically rural wage-earners, including general farm and station hands and labourers, ploughmen, haymakers, harvesters, threshing-mill hands, shepherds, boundary-keepers, musterers, drovers, shearers and shearing-shed hands, as well as those involved in land clearance and bush-felling, sowing of grass-seed and crops, grass-seed harvesting, rabbiting, fencing etc.⁹² While this definition seems to cover most occupations, many have actually been left out, as he says in an earlier work:

Self-employed and managerial workers have been excluded - such as milkman, dairyman, station manager, station/farm overseer. Rural carrying and cartage occupations (for example, carter, expressman, drayman, carrier, teamster, bullock-driver) have also been excluded. Wool processing occupations, predominantly related to factories in towns, have been excluded (wool-classer), wool sorter, wool presser). Horse-related occupation (horse-breaker and groom) are not included. Chaff-cutters have been excluded because it is likely that they were contractors or mill owners rather than mill hands.⁹³

While it seems fair enough to exclude contractors and owners as they cannot be considered 'rural wage-earners,' this is not always the case for rural carrying, cartage, and horse-related occupations. Indeed, the Mt. Peel wages' books used in this thesis indicate that those who were engaged as carters, bullock-drivers, grooms and milkmen were not always self-employed or contract workers, and were also often involved in other 'rural worker' tasks.⁹⁴ Also, if station/farm overseers are excluded because they are salary rather than wage earners, then, by rights, many of the general hands should also be excluded as they too were often paid a salary rather

⁹² Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 1.

⁹³ Martin, 'Rural workers and the Freeholders' Returns of 1882': 3.

⁹⁴ Martin also doesn't include bushmen, railway workers, public works labourers, timber or flax mill hands, kauri-gum diggers or gold-miners. All of these occupations, and probably many others, could be viewed as rural occupations, and many rural workers would have been employed in similar positions at some stage; Martin's definition ignores the versatility of those employed in the rural sector.

than a wage.⁹⁵ If, on the other hand, they are excluded because they are not 'labourers' as such, then it is misleading to talk about the 'mobility' experienced by rural workers for the simple fact that as soon as they experience mobility into the position of overseer, they are then excluded from the sample.

What then of the mobility based around landholding? Again, we have a problem with the definition of the 'rural worker,' and the fact that property mobility is inherently dynamic. Rather than saying that 'rural workers' owned small amounts of land, it could be said that as their holdings increased they were likely to change their occupational 'label' accordingly, even if still primarily reliant on wage-labour. Why would they remain listed under Martin's 'rural worker' labels if they gained enough land to support themselves, perhaps with occasional seasonal work? ~~the~~ the definition Martin has chosen for 'rural workers' immediately excludes these people once they move up the agricultural ladder, even if they were previously in his sample.⁹⁶

This exclusion also manifests itself in his statistics for property holding. As everyone listed in an occupation which is not compatible with 'rural worker' is excluded, it is not the small average size of the property holdings which is surprising, but rather that the average is not smaller. As the amount of land held increases, so too does the likelihood that the occupational title would change.⁹⁷

By definition, Martin's 'rural worker' would find it impossible to experience anything other than very small-scale occupational or property mobility. While the scale is acceptable for discussing the occupational and landholding composition of a specific sector of the rural work-force in terms of a static snapshot, it is entirely inappropriate for the dynamic changes which are an integral part of occupational mobility.

⁹⁵ For instance, H. R. Havill was employed as a general servant from January 1874 until May 1875. At first employed at the standard wage of £1 per week, this soon changed to a salary of £60 per annum. [MB44 F3 iii] – Wages' Book 1873-77.

⁹⁶ When looking at how many of the Mt. Peel workers would have been excluded if using Martin's definition of 'rural worker' the results are telling. Of 37 names which could be conclusively linked to the Freeholders' Return, only 11 would have passed Martin's occupational criteria, although all had, at some stage, been one of these 'rural workers.' An extremely crude extrapolation on this from Martin's 512 'rural workers' in the Freeholders' Return gives almost 2,000 people who could have been excluded because they had already experienced upward mobility.

⁹⁷ For instance, one of the Mt. Peel workers was listed in the Freeholders' Return as a Farmer, with 212 acres of country land with a value of £1270. At the same time he was still employed, full-time, on a weekly wage, as a general servant at Mt. Peel – making him eligible to be a 'rural worker.' How many like him would have been excluded from Martin's sample?

Not only are people excluded through experiencing mobility, so too are those listed under the common term 'Labourer.' A huge number of farm labourers would have used this title but there is no recognition of this, or any attempt to take it into account.⁹⁸

Even after these problems with the definition of 'rural worker' are taken into account, there are still discrepancies in the figures used. The table below is a prime example:

Freehold Land - Average Values

	Rural Workers	All Freeholders	
Country area (acres)	86.5	178.8	
Country value (pounds)	250.6	881.5	
Town value (pounds)	213.1	728.0	
Total value (pounds)	251.4	908.2	99

It can be seen from the formula for an average that the sum of two averages equals the average of the individual parts:

$$\begin{aligned}
 average(x + y) &= \frac{(x_1 + y_1) + (x_2 + y_2) + \dots + (x_n + y_n)}{n} \\
 &= \frac{x_1 + x_2 + \dots + x_n}{n} + \frac{y_1 + y_2 + \dots + y_n}{n} \\
 &= average(x) + average(y)
 \end{aligned}$$

In this case if x is taken to be the country value, and y the town value, the two averages should add up to equal the average total value; this is not the case with the figures in Martin's table, indicating that something is wrong.

By going through the figures listed in the appendix it becomes clear that the table does not show average country, town, and total values for rural workers and all freeholders as implied, but instead the average for only those who owned some of each type of property. For instance, the country values for rural workers include only the average of those who owned some country land, rather than the average country land owned by all rural workers – a subtle, but important difference. This approach results in lower value of n than required, and thus a higher average. As the proportion of 'zero' holdings (both area and value) of the country sections is higher

⁹⁸ The high proportion of 'labourers' who were actually farm labourers was noted by Rollo Arnold and Margaret Galt. See Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand': 86; Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*: 347.

⁹⁹ Martin, 'Rural workers and the Freeholders' Returns of 1882': 4.

for the 'All freeholders' group than for the rural workers, the gap between the actual averages is in fact slightly closer than that found by Martin. The figures also show that rural workers owned, on average, more country land (by area) and dramatically less town land (by value), than the all freeholders group – which supports the view that they were trying to 'climb the agricultural ladder.'

Freehold Land - Average Values

(including 'zero holdings')

	Rural Workers	All Freeholders
Country area (acres)	69.87	51.60
Country value (pounds)	203.73	575.59
Town value (pounds)	47.60	332.42
Total value (pounds)	251.33	908.01

Nevertheless, the figures still support Martin's argument that rural workers owned less valuable land than all freeholders, and either set of figures could have been used to demonstrate the differences in average land values between the groups. The problem is that there is no mention that the averages were not for all the figures, and therefore the results are misleading. Again, this omission raises concerns about the general validity and accuracy of the statistics used as evidence.

As well as these discrepancies, bias introduced by a few extraordinarily large values is also not taken into account. For instance, in Martin's table above it can be seen that the average country area (of only those who owned country land) is much higher for all freeholders than for rural workers. Overall, these averages are undoubtedly correct, but they do not take into account the huge estate owners whose landholdings are exceptional. When we add the fact that all 'farmers' are excluded, even though they may still be engaged in wage-labour, doubt is cast on the usefulness of the findings; if those who would be likely to own larger amounts are excluded, what else could be expected except low average landholdings?

While the problems discussed above do not prove that Martin is wrong in claiming that both mobility and access to land were not as common as imagined, they do not prove his rural proletariat theory either. Similarly, while Arnold and Fairburn show that social mobility was definitely possible by means of a rural apprenticeship, neither can show the number of successes compared to failures. This thesis aims to fill this gap at least partially by utilising the most useful theoretical and methodological parts of these, and other, works.

Theory and scales to be used for this thesis

Obviously the first question we must ask is what type of social mobility are we interested in? By looking at the question 'Rural apprenticeship or rural proletariat?' it can be seen that two main ideas are involved: property mobility, and occupational mobility, both aspects of individual vertical mobility.¹⁰⁰ Remembering the work by Westoff, Blumin, and Hatch, we must verify whether these are suitable variables from which to infer social mobility: were they in fact important to nineteenth-century New Zealand society?

It is clear that property mobility through land-ownership is an acceptable measure of social mobility, as not only was land-ownership a sign of prestige, it was also the main path to mobility in nineteenth-century New Zealand.¹⁰¹ So what of occupational mobility?

A common thread in colonial literature, propaganda, and letters home is that 'Jack was as good as his master.' Although this view indicates that labouring as such was not looked down upon, the 'insider's view' shows that colonists still saw a movement from labouring into self-sufficient farming as an improvement, so it is still valid to use occupation as a measure of mobility.¹⁰²

Although it is fairly easy to confirm that both property mobility and occupational mobility were important to nineteenth-century New Zealand society, and therefore valid indicators of social mobility, it is not as easy to decide on a scale which can be used to show movement either up or down. While landholding is fairly straightforward, with scales based on area and value, the same cannot be said about an occupational scale.

¹⁰⁰ Although it is possible to examine both inter- and intra- generational vertical mobility chances, it is outside the scope of this thesis, and only intra-generational mobility will be studied in depth. In cases where inter-generational information is at hand it will still be discussed though.

We could also talk of 'class mobility' to show the movement between various social classes, however, the terms 'class,' and 'class mobility' have been avoided for two reasons. The first is that class is a very loaded term, which undermines its usefulness. And more importantly, in most cases someone's 'class' is worked out through some kind of occupational scale anyway, so it seems more sensible to talk of 'occupational mobility,' with a specifically designed scale, rather than 'class mobility' which has been inferred from occupation anyway. '[M]any sociologists quite rightly point out that occupational status is not the same as class situation. But this does not undermine the point that occupation still appears to be the most useful indicator of class placement.' Pearson, 'Marriage and Mobility in Wellington 1881-1980': 137.

¹⁰¹ It is also intended to study property mobility, in terms of accumulated wealth, in any cases where probates, death duty registers, or similar, exist.

¹⁰² The colonists' view towards labouring indicates that it was not seen as a permanent situation, but rather one which had, perhaps, enabled 'jack's master' to reach his current position.

First, there is the question of how detailed the scale should be. Sociological and historical models include possibilities ranging from Parkin's two tier occupational scale of manual and non-manual¹⁰³, through to Erikson and Goldthorpe's 'collapsible' scale, which ranges from its simplest three tier form, up to the full eleven tier version¹⁰⁴. The main dilemma is that the fewer tiers, the easier it is to fit all occupations, but the less useful the results. On the other hand, while an elaborate scale offers more explicit results, it not only creates more problems for deciding where each occupation will fit, but the very act of introducing more tiers necessarily increases the mobility which will be found; finer distinctions will automatically produce greater changes.

As well as these general decisions, the type of scale is also affected by the focus on rural occupations. One of the things which is noticed about the various social mobility scales which have been used over time is the confusion and difficulty which agricultural and farming occupations have created in many works, a situation which is generally 'solved' by having all rural occupations separated from urban ones. One of the main reasons for this confusion is the imprecise nature of rural occupational labels, primarily that of 'farmer.'

The label of 'farmer' can be ambiguous, as it can denote considerable wealth or bare subsistence; high status, or not much higher than a labourer; and in many cases much the same work involved as when a labourer.¹⁰⁵ As noted by Galt, 'The social status of the farming community ranged from the top elite on the Canterbury runs, to the bottom rung on the West Coast bogs.'¹⁰⁶ It is clear though that farmers were in the upper wealth levels, above farm labourers who were themselves below carpenters,

¹⁰³ Frank Parkin, *Class Inequality and Political Order: Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies*, MacGibbon & Kee Ltd., London, 1971: 25-27.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Erikson, and John H. Goldthorpe, *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992: 39-40.

¹⁰⁵ A similar problem with misleading occupational titles was also noted by Edward Pessen in terms of the title 'merchant' which he found used by both a small retail dealer and by a shipowner with multinational wholesale operations. Edward Pessen, 'The Occupations of the Ante-Bellum Rich: A Misleading Clue to the Sources and Extent of their Wealth', *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 5(2), 1972: 49-52.

¹⁰⁶ Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand': 45.

civil servants and (of course) farmers.¹⁰⁷ The problem with the term 'farmer' is also discussed by Pearson:

Does this denote a farm labourer with delusions of grandeur or an exceedingly rich pastoralist whose wealth is heavily disguised by such a mundane soubriquet as 'farmer'? Does the farmer live exclusively off the land or does he do some other work to supplement his income?¹⁰⁸

Pearson 'solved' this problem by placing 'farmers' in a separate category, or leaving them out altogether.

The difficulty is not only how agricultural occupations relate to each other, as above, but also how they fit into an overall schema incorporating both rural and urban occupations. This difficulty can be seen by looking at the placement of farmers and agricultural workers in the various versions of Erikson and Goldthorpe's 'collapsible' scale. Although 'Farmers and smallholders; other self-employed workers in primary production' are ranked higher than 'Agricultural and other workers in primary production' in both the full schema, and the seven-class schema, the two strata are lumped together for the five-class and three-class versions. Before this 'lumping,' 'Agricultural and other workers in primary production' are the lowest rank possible, and in all cases 'Farmers and smallholders; other self-employed workers in primary production' are ranked lower than all non-manual workers, including routine non-manual, sales and service positions and small proprietors without employees.¹⁰⁹ It becomes clear that there is uncertainty as to where agricultural occupations fit in to a scale which encompasses both rural and urban spheres.

In other studies which examine only rural occupations, the problems involved are solved by ranking the occupation with reference to the amount of land owned: for example Curti's use of farm labourers, farmers (without improved land), and farm operators; or Hatch with large land-holders, small farmers or 'cockies,' workers, or

¹⁰⁷ Ibid: 92-3, 96. This clear distinction (both through wealth and status) between the positions of farm labourers and farmers is confused later when looking at intergenerational mobility. Here Galt sees the situation where a farm labourer's son becoming a farmer to be horizontal mobility, indicating that farm labourers and farmers were somehow on the same level, a situation which was not explained. Galt: 125.

¹⁰⁸ Pearson, 'Marriage and Mobility in Wellington 1881-1980': 139.

¹⁰⁹ Erikson and Goldthorpe, *The Constant Flux*: 38-39.

‘the working classes’ (the swaggers were at the bottom of this ‘class’).¹¹⁰ But how can these scales be modified to be most useful for this thesis?

As we are exploring two theories based on positions on the agricultural ladder, the initial scale used will incorporate only rural positions.¹¹¹ Because agricultural labourers (in terms of unskilled positions, general hands etc) are at the bottom of every single scale which was looked at, their positions are easy; they will be located in the bottom tier of our scale.¹¹² As we have no records which can provide us with landholding and occupational information at the same time (for a scale with distinctions similar to Curti’s farmer [without improved land], and farm operator positions) we can have only one other position, that of ‘farmer.’ As discussed above, this term covers many possibilities, so some form of clarification must be made.

Because of the lack of precision involved with a two tier occupational scale, it is necessary to take a different approach to most mobility studies. Obviously our occupational scale is not very rigid, featuring just two tiers, but our property scale is. By collecting, at various points in time, information relevant to these two scales through biographical sketches similar to those used by Arnold, a picture of social mobility should appear. Ultimately the scale being used is fluid, and almost Marxist in concept; essentially it indicates the subject’s relation to the means of production through their ownership of land used for subsistence or income, and their state of reliance on wage labour, or self-employment.

While it is obvious that this approach will not provide us with a clear-cut social stratification system, it should allow us to see how socially mobile each individual was in relation to the rural apprenticeship/proletariat theses. At the same time, the use of a distinct number of individuals will allow us to compare both the base, and the summit of the social mobility pyramid, allowing us to see how typical the experience of social mobility was.

The other theoretical aspect of importance is how to decide what mobility rates indicate high mobility. Comparison of some sort will be needed in order to answer

¹¹⁰ Curti, *The Making of an American Community*; Hatch, *Respectable Lives*: 22-23.

¹¹¹ In spite of this, if a shift to an urban occupation is noted, attempts will be made to determine whether movement can be considered to have been up, down, or stable.

¹¹² This means that, by definition, agricultural labourers cannot experience downward occupational mobility, and that any movement by them, unless into a equivalent position, indicating occupational stability, must indicate upward occupational mobility.

this question: either comparison with another country, with the expected ideal, or with perfect mobility. Comparison with perfect mobility is not possible as the focus is mainly intra-generational mobility, and as the scale being used does not match those used by any overseas mobility studies, comparison with another country is unworkable.¹¹³ In any case, as much of the argument revolves around the reality of contemporary beliefs, and the scale being used mirrors their expectations, it seems sensible to choose the expected ideal, in the form of the insider's view, as the base for comparison.¹¹⁴

Although this is only a simple theoretical basis from which to work, it covers the dimensions of social mobility which were most important to nineteenth-century New Zealand rural society. The use of a fluid scale which focuses on both occupation and property (land and accumulated wealth) will allow investigation of both aspects of the rural apprenticeship/proletariat debate and can provide both the qualitative and quantitative material needed to show typicality of experience.

¹¹³ Despite the scale not matching others well enough to form a basis for in depth comparison, any general similarities and differences will be discussed.

¹¹⁴ As with the rural apprenticeship/proletariat distinction, the insider's view encapsulates the concept of success and failure, but without providing precise quantifiable levels for testing. The use of both qualitative and quantitative data enables a closer examination of people's experiences than a purely quantitative scale.

Chapter 2 – Method and Sources

Method

In the previous chapter the theory behind this study was laid out. While we now have a theoretical framework within which to work, the methods must also be discussed as they can have direct implications for any findings. In order to assess the social mobility chances available to the Mt. Peel labourers it is necessary to employ prosopography and record linkage. By using both of these techniques together it is possible to gather and analyse both qualitative and quantitative evidence.

Prosopography

The term ‘prosopography’ has had two main uses over the years. One is to describe a biographical sketch, such as those contained in the *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*, or it can take on a more precise meaning. The social historians’ definition of prosopography, while still involving the use of biographical material, focuses not so much on the sketch itself, as on the technique involved when biographical data are systematically collected for the purposes of social history:

In the last forty years collective biography (as the modern historians call it), multiple career-line analysis (as the social scientists call it), or prosopography (as the ancient historians call it) has developed into one of the most valuable and most familiar techniques of the research historian. Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions – about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of personal wealth, occupation, religion, experience of office, and so on. The various types of information about the individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed and combined, and are examined for significant variables.¹

This definition by Lawrence Stone, one of the authorities in the field, captures the essence of prosopography – that studying the lives of every member of a large group of people is a means of determining collective trends or traits.²

¹ Lawrence Stone, ‘Prosopography’, in *The Past and the Present Revisited*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1987: 45.

² Although almost all modern prosopographers cite a version of Stone’s definition, thus showing acceptance of it, not all historians agree as to some of the details. For instance while David Allen describes prosopography as ‘a research technique’, T. F. Carney claims that it ‘is not a technique, but instead is set of guidelines.’ David Allen, ‘Arcana ex Multitudine: Prosopography as a Research Technique’, *Archives of Natural History*, 17(3), 1990: 349; T. F. Carney, ‘Prosopography: Payoffs

Prosopography can be divided into two main streams. Although both look for differences and similarities in the biographies collected, one examines the roots of political action, and the other social structure and social mobility. These streams can also follow one of two schools of inquiry – the elitists and the school of mass inquiry.³ As the underlying questions, and the sorts of groups under study, differ depending on the stream or school, each prosopographical study is likely to build up a different kind of biographical sketch. ‘Indeed,’ notes J. E. Neale, ‘we may have very little interest in the usual contents of a biography. Some of the facts we seek may be difficult to come by; they may seem insignificant and in themselves dull.’⁴ In an extreme case, such as a low-profile group, or one from a society that did not leave much written information, some of the resultant ‘biographies’ may be highly fragmented and incomplete, perhaps even containing only a name and approximate time and place for the individual’s life.⁵ In this way prosopography (and similarly collective biography) can be seen as distinct from ‘conventional’ biography.

As a branch of historical inquiry, prosopography is relatively new. Although historians seem to disagree on exactly who was the first to employ it in the form we recognise today, all agree that it was not until the early twentieth century that

and Pitfalls’, *Phoenix*, 27(2), 1973: 156. As Carney’s argument is a matter of labelling and is therefore essentially irrelevant to this thesis, prosopography is accepted as a technique, or a tool.

Similarly, although Stone considers the terms ‘prosopography’ and ‘collective biography’ to be synonymous, David Allen disagrees. ‘Coined from a Greek word meaning a character or actor, it [prosopography] is a needed term, for “collective biography” conveys too inadequately what this technique attempts to accomplish. It is much more than just a matter of putting together a bundle of brief life-histories: it involves combing these in the hope of uncovering evidence of shared outlooks, or ties of loyalty indicative of otherwise hidden social groupings.’ (Allen, ‘Arcana ex Multitudine’: 349.) in this case, Allen’s argument is based on his definition of collective biography; a definition which is at variance to the norm. While he sees collective biography to be purely the compilation of biographies, most historians accept that it also involves the search for similarities, differences, and patterns, as does prosopography. Although there may be grounds for arguing that there are slight differences between the precise definitions of prosopography and collective biography (and also J. E. Neale’s ‘biographical approach’), there is no indication that these differences are important in the context of this thesis, and so these terms are all considered to be synonymous.

³ While Stone differentiates between what is being studied (the roots of political action vs. social structure and mobility) and how it is approached (the elitist vs. mass inquiry schools), Carney only distinguishes between the differing approaches of the elitist and mass schools. It is also worth noting that although Carney is very critical of prosopography, it is clear that his doubts about it stem not from prosopography itself but from sloppy usage – especially inference, questionable data analysis, and the use of meaningless verbiage. Stone, ‘Prosopography’: 45-47; Carney, ‘Prosopography’: 156-157.

⁴ J. E. Neale, ‘The Biographical Approach to History’, *Essays in Elizabethan History*, Cape, London, 1958: 228.

⁵ George Beech, ‘Prosopography’, in James M. Powell (ed.), *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, 2nd ed., Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1992: 187.

prosopography entered the mainstream of historical research.⁶ In the post-war period, primarily through L. B. Namier's efforts, prosopography gained recognition as a tool which could allow investigation of underlying reasons or motives for surface events.

In England, I remember when we used to see reviews in the weeklies signed 'L. B. Namier' and heard of a formidable and mysterious biographical card-index. We pitied the *littérateur* and the weaker brethren who strayed into his field: we also enjoyed the review. And at last came the two volumes on the *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*. It is a book which in retrospect must be regarded in this country as one of the supremely influential historical works. Pollard's *Evolution of Parliament* stimulated a remarkable amount of research, but Namier's book began a new historical method.⁷

The decade following Namier's groundbreaking work produced the two other 'big names' of early prosopographical research, Sir Ronald Syme and R. K. Merton.⁸

Although Namier, Syme and Merton all focused on people of power and influence, as have the majority of prosopographers, the same methods can be used for what Beech calls 'individuals of lesser importance', subordinate groups.⁹ Indeed, for this study of Mt. Peel workers it is not the elite who are under the microscope but rank and file New Zealanders. As these obscure individuals tend to leave little or no trace of their existence, how can we build up their biographical sketches?¹⁰ The solution lies in 'perusing the widest possible range of original sources for biographical information and ... [the historian] refining to the highest degree their techniques or methods for extracting this information.'¹¹ Record linkage is the key technique for this purpose.

⁶ Beech says that credit for the first prosopographical study belongs to a late-nineteenth century German classicist, O. Seeck, while Allen mentions Friedrich Münzer from the early twentieth century. Similarly Stone claims that Charles Beard was 'the first historian to adopt the elitist method of prosopography to attack a major historical problem' with his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913). Beech, 'Prosopography': 188; Allen, 'Arcana ex Multitudine': 349-350; Stone, 'Prosopography': 48-49.

⁷ Neale, 'The Biographical Approach to History': 227. David Allen asserts that Namier's impact on the use of prosopography was so dramatic that the verb, to 'Namierise' eventuated. Allen, 'Arcana ex Multitudine': 350.

⁸ L. B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, Macmillan, London, 1929; Ronald Syme, *Roman Revolution*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1939; R. K. Merton, 'Science, Technology, and Puritanism in Seventeenth Century England', *Osiris*, 4, 1938.

⁹ Beech, 'Prosopography': 186.

¹⁰ The majority of large prosopographical studies, focussing as they have on prominent individuals, have been able to utilise pre-written biographies. For the Mt. Peel workers, the largest part of the research was the process of building up biographical information for each individual.

¹¹ Beech, 'Prosopography': 196.

Record Linkage

Record linkage is fairly self-explanatory involving the linkage of various records relating to an individual: basically looking up a name in one source, and linking it to information about the same person in another source. Through this process a picture of various aspects of an individual's life can emerge, limited only by the historian's imagination and the availability of sources. Although record linkage is not used solely to produce biographies of people, the ideas involved are much the same, whatever the project.

The majority of historical record linkage exercises compile vast lists of names (primarily census schedules), put them into a computer readable format, feed them into a computer, then programme the computer to look for matches between the different lists, or to arrange the lists ready for manual linkage.¹² Although this idea of matching two sets of names is simple, the actual process involved when trying to establish positive links (where it is certain that both references pertain to the same individual, rather than to two different people with the same names) can be rather complicated, and this is where most problems occur. The historian must continually ask, how can I tell that the John Smith listed here is the same John Smith that I am trying to find? Normally in this situation historians, or their computers, have a set of rules which they invoke to decide if two pieces of information relate to the same individual. For instance, when linking various fifteenth century Tuscan fiscal records, David Herlihy loaded his lists into a computer which then alphabetised them ready for manual linkage based on four rules:

Identification will be rejected if

- 1 the Christian names, patronymics and family names are not identical or common variants of the same names
- 2 ages do not correspond at least within ten years, to allow for the possibility of age rounding
- 3 information on wealth, when given, places the persons in different social categories
- 4 they reside in separate and distant neighbourhoods, unless there is explicit reference to immigration or emigration¹³

¹² This technique has been used, with slight variations, in many social mobility works, both historical and sociological. The most well-known of which are probably Stephan Thernstrom's two works, *Poverty and Progress* and *The Other Bostonians*; also Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West*; and in New Zealand, Olssen, *Building the New World*, or various papers and articles related to 'The Caversham Project.'

¹³ Herlihy 'Problems of Record Linkages in Tuscan Fiscal Records of the Fifteenth Century': 51.

In his 1973 study of Boston, Thernstrom linked a sample of men from the 1880 census schedules to various other records including marriage records and city directories. Unlike Herlihy, Thernstrom does not mention any identification rules (but he does note that some names were ‘untraceable’, indicating that some kind of system must have been in place).¹⁴ Instead, he tried to avoid the problem by removing common names from his sample at the beginning, a system which he later questioned.¹⁵

Perhaps the most candid explanation of how ‘positive’ links were made comes from Michael Katz who, in his study of nineteenth-century Hamilton, concedes that:

To join the census of 1851 and the assessment of 1852, the first record linkage task, an intelligent research assistant thoroughly familiar with the data simply began working by hand and employing his intuitive judgment.... The census of 1861 and assessment of 1861 were joined by a semi-automated technique.... The census of 1851 and 1861 and the four-way linkage were done with a fully automated technique.... Our methods are not infallible, and they may not have achieved the best possible results, but any scholar can link his own data by using our rules and can achieve results which, at the least, may be compared to ours with some confidence.¹⁶

While accepting that his procedure is not flawless, Katz realises that some kind of record linkage standardisation is necessary if comparisons are to be made with other

¹⁴ He also notes that using occupation to identify links ‘seemed to me to assume answers to the very questions the study sought to explore, and possibly would have biased the findings in serious and unknown ways.’ Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*: 269.

¹⁵ After choosing a sample where common and therefore probably untraceable names had been passed over in preference to ones which could be traced, Thernstrom, in *The Other Bostonians*: 270, reflected that perhaps it:

was not the wisest strategy to adopt, and that future investigators confronting similar problems would do well to follow a different procedure. Instead of rejecting a randomly selected case where the name in question was likely to be untraceable, it would be preferable to include it. Lest this produce too small a sample of traceable cases, a quick pilot study should be made to reveal the extent of the problem and the sample size could then be adjusted accordingly.

With this method:

People with common names would still have had to be ignored in the subsequent mobility analysis. But the original samples would at least have been true random samples, and it would have been possible to go on to show precisely how its traceable and untraceable components differed from each other.

¹⁶ Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West*: 121.

The automated techniques which are described for the two later censuses were based, firstly on the use of SOUNDINDEX code – which compresses surnames phonetically – and then through a weighting system based on the fairly simple rules below.

In all linked pairs the SOUNDINDEX and the sex must be identical; second, the disagreement in age must be twelve years or less; third, the religion must be either Catholic or a Protestant denomination on both sources.

There are eight identifying items to be considered besides SOUNDINDEX and sex: birthplace, religion, age (in different categories), race, surname, first initial, initial of spouse or parent, and marital status. Of these at least three must be identical, and at least two of these must be birthplace, surname, or age plus or minus 3.

Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West*: 350.

studies. This point was raised previously when he noted that ‘both the nature of the sources and the techniques of record linkage dramatically affect the mobility rates that one discovers.’¹⁷

Ultimately a choice must be made between standardisation (allowing comparison but possibly affecting the accuracy of the results) and non-standardisation (making comparison difficult and possibly resulting in fewer positive, but higher accuracy, links). Although Herlihy and Katz were able to standardise their linkage procedures by applying fairly concrete rules, the situation for this thesis is somewhat different. Firstly, the wages’ books did not provide a list of full names and other ‘identifying items’ similar to those found in fiscal records or census schedules. In many cases the books (and some of the other sources) provided just a surname and one initial, only a surname, or occasionally no more than a Christian name or nickname. Secondly, in most cases there were only the names, and usually dates worked, with which to identify these people; no information was given on age, family, religion, wealth, land ownership or even where they lived. In some cases even the dates worked were not recorded. How then is it possible to trace these people accurately when the information on which rules could be based is not available? the answer lies, not in rules as such, but in combing every possible source, collecting every fragment that **could** relate to one of the men, and hoping for a picture to emerge – a phenomenally time-consuming process.¹⁸ As a result, the bulk of the information collected over the course of this study proved to be of little use, either not relating to the right individuals, or unable to be proved (a positive link not being made). At the same

¹⁷ Ibid: 118.

¹⁸ Similar methods seem to have been used in the New Zealand ‘collective biography’ studies of Rollo Arnold, Charlotte Macdonald, Jim McAloon, and in overseas ‘prosopographical’ works by Morgan and Allen. A major failing in all of these studies is that none appears to discuss, or even allude to, how they decide when a link is positive. In the course of this thesis, the number of times a seemingly certain link was later doubted or disproved showed the need for some kind of rule as to what kind of certainty is acceptable for a positive link, or how links which are likely (but not positive) are dealt with. While it is of little concern the actual methods used to deal with these problems it is vital that they are made clear. Allen, ‘Arcana ex Multitudine’: 349-359; Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*; Charlotte Macdonald, ‘Collective Biography’, in Jock Phillips (ed.), *Biography in New Zealand*, Allen & Unwin / Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1985: 67-74; McAloon, ‘The Colonial Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago: No Idle Rich’: 43-60; Kenneth Morgan, ‘Bristol West India Merchants in the Eighteenth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6(3), 1993: 185-208. Lyndon Fraser, ‘Irish Migration to the West Coast, 1864-1900’, *NZJH*, 34(2), 2000: 197-225, uses prosopographical techniques with a large variety of sources to investigate migration patterns. This work uses techniques very similar to those in this thesis.

It should be noted that all the above studies, and this thesis, are hindered by a lack of the original census enumerators schedules which proved so useful for Thernstrom and Katz. Without the initial wealth of information contained in these schedules (or something similar) the process of making a positively identified link is made much more difficult, and in many cases impossible.

time, even apparently unrelated bits of information sometimes proved to be vital once another piece of the puzzle turned up, and therefore every likely piece of information had to be collected, just in case.¹⁹

Application of Method

The first step in the linking process was to compile from four Mt. Peel wages' books covering 1856-1893 the list of names and information that forms the basis of this study.²⁰ Here the first problem emerged. When one of the wages' books was examined to see if this study was feasible, the writing was neat, and dates, occupations, wages and at least surname and an initial were recorded in almost every case. The other wages' books proved very different indeed, with almost ten per cent of records having neither Christian name or initial, and a large proportion of the dates being unreadable. However, a preliminary list of 478 names was drawn up, with dates and other snippets of information where available.²¹

The next step was to go through other station records and local histories to try to elaborate on the information already known. For instance, in one of the wages' books there was the lone name Tycho, and the only information was that he had been employed from 2 October until 16 October at the rate of £1 per week; no surname was given, no year (except a rough estimate of between 1856 and 1866 because it was in the first wages' book), and no occupation. As it stood, this seemed like an untraceable name, perhaps even a nickname, but after searching through various local histories it was possible to ascertain that this was Tycho Torepe, a young Maori shepherd who had helped track the sheep rustler Mackenzie in 1855, and also that his father's name was Wiremu. This was a much stronger position from which to begin linkage.

¹⁹ The database used for storage of this information is discussed in an appendix.

²⁰ The titles on the wages' books indicate that they contain information from 1857 – 1892, however, the earliest year mentioned is 1856, and the latest year 1893.

²¹ Although it would have been possible to leave out any ambiguous names, or those lacking in information, it was decided to keep them in and treat them as Thernstrom suggests treating common names. Those who were 'untraceable' either because their name or other information was deficient in the initial list, or whose name was too common, were therefore not excluded, but were instead available for comparison with those who could be traced. In some cases positive links were still possible because of chance encounters with some source (usually an obituary or some other biographical entry) which confirmed that they had been working at Mt. Peel at the same time as being listed in the wages' books.

After the local histories, the next step was to examine more primary records: parish registers, death duty and estate records, sheep returns, street directories, Electoral Rolls, newspapers, police records, and the New Zealand equivalent of the Domesday Book, the 1882 Freeholders' Return. Again, it was necessary to collect every possible scrap of information in case it could be tied in again later, or used to eliminate someone with the same name from the search.

Marriage records were especially helpful for elimination, primarily because of the combination of age, occupation, birthplace and residence information. For example, an Alexander MacPherson, station manager, 31, married in 1887, initially seemed likely to be the Alexander MacPherson who was overseer at Mt. Peel in the early 1860s. However, on closer inspection the link had to be discarded, as it would have meant that he was running the station at the age of five. Although it was frustrating to eliminate possible links like this, it was also useful for narrowing down the search for the right person.²²

In the situation where a marriage record had been successfully linked, a large amount of information could then be gathered. If the linked name belonged to the groom then we expanded our knowledge to include: the wife's name, names for both sets of parents, occupations for the groom's father and father-in-law, as well as information on the groom's age, birthplace, residence and occupation. All this information could then be used to track down any children who happened to marry, thus providing occupational information for the original groom (now the father) as well as new information for the child. In another situation the linked name might belong to the father of either the bride or groom, and in this case we now know the name of his wife, and the name, age, residence and occupation of one of his children. If we can then find the father's marriage certificate we can find out about his parents as well. As could be expected, in the few cases where the names could be positively traced to a marriage certificate, the growth in information was sometimes quite phenomenal.²³

²² The importance of noticing all information which could relate to each individual was highlighted when the same Alexander MacPherson turned up again a few years later. His 23 year old wife had died six months after he married her, so he proceeded to marry her younger sister. In a case like this, linkage from Alexander's first marriage certificate, to any records (such as cemetery or baptism records) where the wife's name was noted would prove impossible if the second marriage had been overlooked.

²³ These intergenerational records were only used where they were 'unearthed' along the way. Because of time constraints and the scope of the task it was not feasible to actively search for any more than those who appeared on the initial list. Nevertheless, in an intergenerational study the marriage records would prove invaluable.

Landholding records (primarily Electoral Rolls and the Freeholders' Return) give occupational and land information, but no other identifying features, so in order to make a positive link there has to be certainty that there were no other people in the area with the same name, or some other indication as to where land was owned, when land was purchased or sold, or any other (often seemingly useless) information. In one case, after reading the wages' book, the question arose as to whether there was some link between two of the employees Pithie and Dines. Initially this information was unusable speculation as the identity of both Pithie and Dines was unknown, but when going through a list of sections purchased in early Canterbury,²⁴ Dines and Pithie were listed as the joint owners of 20 acres, section 5287, in Alford Forest (near Mt. Peel). It was therefore possible to confirm which section they had owned, and to trace them from there.

As in that case, positive links were often accidental, and indeed in numerous instances, although there were many entries for a name, there was no way of making a positive link. One of the names in the wages' book was J. Anderson, and in the Freeholders' Return alone, there are 89 possible links, none of which could be made with any certainty. Having no links for common names unfortunately throws doubt on any conclusions which might be reached. If there is no record of someone at all, that is they cannot be traced, it can be fairly safely assumed that they have not experienced upward mobility,²⁵ but the same cannot be assumed when a link cannot be verified. It is entirely possible that this J. Anderson was a freeholder, but it cannot be verified without extra information. Any results, then, must show both how many could not be traced, and how many could not be verified.²⁶ Lack of positive evidence of mobility is not always the same as evidence of a lack of mobility.

²⁴ *Province of Canterbury, New Zealand: List of Sections Purchased to April 30, 1863*, Edward Stanford, London, 1863.

²⁵ This assumption is based on the fact that those who had stayed in the area and who had purchased land or otherwise 'got on' are likely to appear in some of the sources examined, while various overseas and New Zealand studies have shown that, in the majority of cases, if someone was transient, (especially over long distances) they were less likely to succeed. Therefore, if someone never appears in any of the New Zealand sources, it is likely that they did not 'get on.'

²⁶ This ties in with the treatment of common names and those which initially were deemed to be 'untraceable' because of lack of information in the wages' books. Instead of being excluded from the sample these were left in. In some cases further information was later found which made them 'traceable' again, and it allowed comparison between the 'traceable' and 'untraceable' groups for factors which could produce a bias in the results, or in case other trends were noted.

The most useful overall source for providing concrete identifying information, and therefore creating positive links, is a death certificate. Death is certain, and it is almost always recorded, regardless of status, wealth or connections. Consequently, if a person's death date can be established then tracing them becomes a much easier task. Not only does a death certificate show how and where a person died, but it can also verify links with birth and marriage certificates, and often gives information on parents, children, and even date of arrival in New Zealand. A death date can also be used to find an obituary, and information on probates or death duties. These sources, in turn, are able to provide data on landholding, wealth and social connections, all information where positive identification is otherwise difficult. Thus, as well as providing excellent identifying information, a death certificate can also act as an 'index' to some of the major events in an person's life.

The research for this thesis revealed that there are basically four types of people who can be traced with confidence in the situation where only names and dates are known.

1. The very successful. They tend to generate more records, and their obituaries are normally more complete – those who experienced extreme upward mobility.
2. Long-term residents and early arrivals, especially if their families were also resident in the region – a case of low horizontal mobility.²⁷
3. People with distinctive names.²⁸
4. People who did unusual or noticeable things. Three of the men were very easy to trace because of the major drinking bouts they would go on. Because of the public nature of these bouts, these men were mentioned in most local histories and reminiscences (although some of the stories are obviously apocryphal). One of these men made himself even more conspicuous by threatening to kill a man

²⁷ A good example of this is John McLeod who started work at Mt. Peel at the age of 15 in 1873 and was still working there in 1893. Not only did he work there, but so had his father and three brothers-in-law, and their long association with the area is documented in numerous local histories providing vital information to be used in linkage.

²⁸ For instance Abner Clough, and Algernon Rayner were distinctive enough names to be spotted easily and, in the course of this thesis, no other person was found who carried their names.

who refused him a drink.²⁹ Two other men made tracing easy through their actions; both published reminiscences, an unusual step which cut out all the uncertainty which is normally associated with record linkage.

When researching people whose lives went largely unseen and unrecorded, making positive links between one record and another is often a case of hit and miss, but ultimately anyone who had an unusual name, made an unusual amount of money, did unusual things, or stayed in an area for an unusual length of time has a good chance of being traceable.³⁰ While for a group as obscure as the Mt. Peel employees, prosopography and record linkage are very time-consuming, and in many cases unrewarding, the use of the two techniques gradually gives access to a world of both qualitative and quantitative information on nineteenth-century society which would have been otherwise inaccessible. Despite the best efforts, a large proportion of the men will remain untraceable, but with the right techniques and a wide range of sources it is possible to build up a picture of the lives of some of New Zealand's 'forgotten workers.'

²⁹ This man was very interesting to trace and his story provides a good illustration of some of the problems involved with record-linkage. There was a listing in the wages' book for an Andy Brittain who increasingly seemed likely to be the 'Black Andy' listed in most of the local histories – an aboriginal who drank copious quantities and had previously worked in Otago as a mail runner. Andy was famous for running from Mt. Peel to Christchurch getting drunk and having to be bailed out of the lockup by the Bishop of Christchurch (who was one of his bosses friends), then running back to Mt. Peel in time for the next night. Despite 'Black Andy' being mentioned in almost every local history, nowhere did anyone mention his real name. It was intensely frustrating to think they were one and the same person but having no proof. Finally, an entry was found in the station diary '1857 - January 20. Tuesday. 'C. G. T. engaged Andy Brittain an Australian Black as a shepherd, from the time he finished shearing at Macdonalds.' It contained a name, corresponding information, and dates which matched those in the wages' book, so at last his story could be used. Unfortunately for Andy any chances for upward mobility did not last long - the man he had threatened to kill was his boss and he was despatched back to Australia where worse awaited - after his mother was murdered he sought revenge by killing the perpetrator, and was himself sent to the gallows. Despite his lack of upward mobility, Andy's extraordinary actions meant that, once the missing links had been confirmed, he was relatively easy to trace.

³⁰ As this was likely to bias tracing towards the successful, it was necessary to include a large variety of sources to help trace the transient and unsuccessful. Police and court records were extremely useful for this as they included information on birth date and place, as well as height, hair and eye colour and distinguishing marks and tattoos. Even where pseudonyms and aliases had been used, it was often possible to trace a man throughout New Zealand by his personal description.

Sources

The foundations for this thesis were the Mt. Peel Station's wages' books. This station, in South Canterbury, was the first attempt at high-country farming in New Zealand. It is also one of the few stations that retained its records for posterity. The resultant Acland Collection in the Macmillan Brown Library holds an almost complete set of both farm and personal records from 1848 up to the present day.³¹ Part of this collection comprises the original station wages' books from 1856 until 1893.³² These list the names of all men who were employed at Mt. Peel, whether for a day, or permanently for many years.³³ In some cases the rate of pay and occupation (or a basic job description) were included, as well as the occasional note on other matters.

The legibility of the wages' books varied dramatically. The first two were particularly difficult to read as they were often badly organised with many emendations, scrawled handwriting and miscellaneous jottings and scribbling. In contrast, the second two were better organised with, in general, much tidier writing and less non-relevant information.³⁴ However, in terms of content, the first two books were much more detailed.

For identification of individuals it was normally necessary to have at least the surname and Christian name or two initials. While this was given legibly for 78 out of the 93 names given in the first book (83.87 per cent) and 74 out of 89 names (83.15 per cent) in the second, the figures were much lower for the later books. In

³¹ All the station records are kept under the accession number [MB44].

³² [MB44 F3 i] – Wages' Book 1857-88; [MB44 F3 ii] – Wages' Book 1865-84; [MB44 F3 iii] – Wages' Book 1873-77; [MB44 F3 iv] – Wages' Book 1877-92. The 1857-88 book actually contains information from 1856, and the 1877-1892 book also includes information for some of 1893. In all there are wages' books covering from 1856 until 1961, with a gap between 1892 and 1906. The information was not set out in a strictly chronological order and there is some overlapping of dates between the books.

³³ There are some exceptions to this. Both Henry Dumoulin (overseer until 1861) and Michael Mitton (manager 1873-88) do not appear in the wages' books at all, while William Irvine (overseer February-October 1861), Alexander Macpherson (overseer 1861-62) and Adam Irvine (overseer 1862-73) are all listed. In other cases notes in the station diaries, or biographical accounts from various sources, claimed that their subject had worked at Mt. Peel (sometimes for many years) and yet no record exists in the wages' books. Although there were obviously quite a few cases where names had not been recorded in the wages' books, it was decided to use only those which had been listed.

³⁴ It seems that the first two books were kept by J. B. A. Acland, the owner of Mt. Peel, whereas the second two were kept mainly by Michael Mitton, and then for a short time by John Dyke Acland (the owner's son). The only writing which was consistently clear was that of Michael Mitton, and although both Aclands' writing could normally be worked out it was definitely a more time-consuming job.

the third wages' book only 91 out of 133 names (68.42 per cent) were stated this fully, and this dropped to only 98 out of a total of 161 (61.25 per cent) in the fourth book. Overall, then, out of the 476 names listed in the wages' books between 1856 and 1893, only 341 (71.64 per cent) initially had enough information to make tracing a possibility.³⁵

To supplement the information from the wages' books, the station diaries and other station records were examined.³⁶ In most cases it was not feasible to read them in entirety, so the most useful approach was to look up the dates mentioned in the wages' books. In many cases this led to extra information on a worker being found.

The next sources used were local and family histories. In many cases they elaborated on the information given in the wages' books (especially for early arrivals) and slightly increased the number of names which could be traced. After a basic list of names was drawn up to be traced, various primary sources, transcripts, and indexes were consulted.³⁷ Each of these sources has distinctive benefits, and each also has failings.

Generally genealogical sources provided the least directly useful information about the labourers' experiences in New Zealand. Birth, baptism, marriage, and death records could not show whether someone had bought land, had started working for

³⁵ This number increased slightly as information from other sources (primarily the station diaries and local histories) gave Christian names or second initials. It also decreased when names appeared more than once and it was unclear whether they were referring to the same person, or when names were so common that it was impossible to distinguish them from the general population. In these cases the name had to be classed as untraceable unless there was some other identifying feature such as a wife's name, or a very distinctive occupation.

³⁶ [MB44 F4 v] - Account Book 1857-1866; [MB44 B2 xviii] - Records of Events at Mt. Peel Station 1856-61 [Bound Typescript]; [MB44 F1 i-v] - Station Records 1876-1901. As with the wages' books there seems to be a gap in the station diaries just after the turn of the century.

³⁷ At first this list included all names which could be read clearly, whether common or uncommon, even if only a surname, or surname and one initial was known. After a few months, however, the impracticality of this became clear. Often a child would have the same name as his father and it would be difficult to work out which one was being referred to, and some names were just so common that it was impossible to know which information belonged to whom. After going through the local and family histories, reminiscences and some of the primary sources, all of the records were gone through again, and the list was 'culled.' All names which were common, or where only an initial was known, were removed from the 'active' list, unless there was other identifying material. Generally information on landholding, a wife or child's name, mention of a particular occupation (for instance carpenter or blacksmith), or indication as to the person's age was deemed useful enough to assist identification at a later stage. So unless the name was incredibly common, these men were generally still included on the 'active' list. This list was made up of 344 men, 72.27 per cent of the total. Although those not on the list were no longer actively searched for, they were not removed from the sample (in case additional information happened to be found); generally this did not happen but in some cases men were reinstated on the 'active' list because of information which had been stumbled upon. It was also still important to record the details of the untraceable men so that they could be compared with both the traceables, and those who could not be found at all.

themselves, or whether they had been downwardly mobile. These sources were, however, invaluable. Without access to this personal information it would have been almost impossible to identify and trace anyone with certainty. Although birth, marriage or death dates were generally not of any use on their own, when used together with other sources they could establish which individual was being discussed. The name of perhaps a wife or a child, while of no real interest in itself, could aid with identification, or be used to show whether marital status or family structure was important for mobility.

Undoubtedly, the most impressive genealogical source was the Church of the Latter Day Saints' International Genealogy Index (I.G.I.). This records various birth, baptism, marriage and death records for over 600 million individuals world-wide. It is accessible from any of the 'Family History Centres' in most of the world's main cities, or online over the Internet.³⁸ Even though the I.G.I. is obviously a very valuable and powerful resource, it must be remembered that it is only an index. There is also no guarantee that the information which appears in it is actually correct, so it is always necessary to verify the information through other (preferably primary) sources.³⁹ Despite this drawback the I.G.I. allows almost instantaneous searching for genealogical information on a scale that no other source can rival, and is especially useful for tracing people with uncommon names.

On a smaller scale, the Canterbury Public Library's Genealogical Index holds transcriptions for baptism, marriage and death records for most of the churches in Canterbury. While this is still just an index, rather than a primary source, the information is more likely to be accurate than the I.G.I. The transcriptions were made by genealogists and researchers with an interest in accuracy, and nothing to gain from manipulating the information, so the only mistakes are likely to have been transcription errors. Because most of the church records are not available in a primary form, it was sometimes necessary to trust the accuracy of these records, although corroboration with other sources was carried out wherever possible. Since most of the information from both these indices was verified in other sources, and

³⁸ <<http://www.familysearch.org>>

³⁹ After following a couple of genealogical newsgroups for many months, it soon became clear that inaccuracies were common in the information found on the I.G.I.. It must be remembered that as much of the information is submitted as a 'Church Duty', rather than through a personal or research interest, total accuracy is not always seen as necessary. Similarly transcription mistakes can easily occur. While most information is correct, it cannot be assumed.

was used primarily for identification, rather than being data for analysis, the effect of any errors is minor.

Similar 'personal' information was also made available through monumental inscriptions, and cemetery and church transcripts. Almost all the churches in South and Mid-Canterbury have had their Birth, Death and Marriage records transcribed. Similarly almost every headstone inscription in New Zealand has been recorded.⁴⁰ Probably the most useful of the genealogical sources were death records, marriage records, obituaries and the various biographical indices. All of these sources tended to include information on occupation or landholding as well as the normal genealogical information.

When a marriage ceremony was carried out at a church, a copy of the certificate was kept there. This gives historians much easier and cheaper access to the information than if the Registrar-General's copy was the only one available.⁴¹ Since marriage certificates generally contained information on the occupation and residence of the bride, groom, and their respective fathers, as well as birthplace details for the married couple, they proved to be very useful. If a worker's marriage certificate could be found, as well as those of any of his children, it was possible to get a picture of how his occupation had changed over time, and how geographically mobile he had been. The occupations of his children could also give inter-generational mobility information.

The Alexander Turnbull Library and G. R. Macdonald biographical indices, newspaper obituaries, and the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* also provided extra

⁴⁰ The Church of the Latter Day Saints' Family History Centre in Christchurch holds transcriptions of the records from most of the South Canterbury parishes. The Canterbury Public Library hold transcriptions for most of Canterbury – for baptisms and marriages, as well as headstone transcriptions (in hard-copy for Canterbury, and on microfiche for the whole of New Zealand).

⁴¹ Over one hundred birth, death and marriage certificates from the Registrar-General's office were looked at. Despite a frustrating battle with bureaucracy to gain free access to these certificates, permission was finally given under two conditions: only around one hundred certificates were to be examined, and I was not to 'interfere with their workflow practices.' the main concern seemed to be that profits would decrease if free access was given, through lost revenue and, presumably, in staff costs involved 'babysitting' me. In practice, it was only the top level of bureaucracy who held these concerns. The individual branch managers and staff showed enthusiasm for what they perceived to be a valuable project and welcomed the use of the certificates for this type of research. The only drain on their resources or interference of their 'workflow practices' involved approximately five minutes of time explaining the indexing and storage system, and the use of a desk in the archives area. A chance meeting with the new Minister of National Archives later in the year indicated that this might be a problem of the past. Rather than showing concern over maximising profits, the Rt. Hon. Marion Hobbs was more concerned that serious researchers must be able to gain access to these types of invaluable materials. She indicated that if I wished to carry out future research involving the use of these sources, that she would help ensure they were available free of charge.

biographical information.⁴² This was generally qualitative rather than quantitative, but it could often be used to confirm links for people who shifted or changed occupation. Similarly, shipping lists could give an approximate birth date, the occupation held at entry, where the labourer was from, and often an indication of family ties and related names.

One of the main interests of this thesis was occupational status. Various sources were used to determine this, but only street directories dealt solely with occupation. Despite their popularity for social history, these directories were surprisingly unproductive and were one of the most deficient of all the sources. The most obvious shortcoming was that not all people in an area were listed, supposedly only the household heads, or business people.⁴³ In reality, many of these people were not listed either, with a distinctive bias toward those higher up the occupational ladder.⁴⁴ Added to this was the problem of identification. In larger towns a street address was often given; however, in many small towns only the name was listed, or perhaps a name and occupation. For very distinctive names this was often enough to make a positive link between the directory entry and another source, but in most cases unless 'the information given is quite detailed and specific it is extremely difficult to identify individuals from one kind of list to another.'⁴⁵ Even if positive identification can be made, one still does not know how multiple occupations have been listed, or even what the compilers meant by each occupational title. This problem is not restricted to New Zealand directories.⁴⁶ Even though the directories do have problems which severely undermine their usefulness, they are still a good approximate indicator of who was living in a certain place, and for how long, especially for high-profile members of the community.

⁴² It must be remembered that as the *Cyclopedia* entries were published by subscription, and the information was generally furnished by the individual, they can be somewhat self-congratulatory. Despite this, if viewed with some scepticism they can be an invaluable source.

⁴³ This is especially problematic if women are to be traced.

⁴⁴ Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*: 284.

⁴⁵ Pickens, 'Canterbury 1851-1881': 11.

⁴⁶ In a 1972 article Edward Pessen commented that in directories only one job was listed when a person could have had more than one job and often they used misleading or ambiguous terms. A common example is 'merchant' being used by both a small retail dealer, and by a shipowner with multinational wholesale operations. This is similar to the New Zealand use of 'farmer' as an occupational title. Pessen, 'The Occupations of the Ante-Bellum Rich': 49-52. The same problems can occur with the use of Electoral Rolls.

While the street directories were the only source which dealt solely with occupations, many other sources referred to them. As mentioned before, the marriage records contained occupational information. So too with Electoral Rolls, and the Freeholders' Return. The main focus of these, however, is on land ownership and place of residence.

The Electoral Rolls were far more accurate than street directories, but there were still some difficulties with their use, primarily concerning multiple registration, and the changing eligibility for registration. At first, electors (males over the age of twenty-one) were able to enrol in all electorates in which they met the property qualifications, either freehold, leasehold, or household.⁴⁷ This ability to appear on several rolls meant that identification of links could be made very difficult. It was often impossible to determine if the same name in two electorates referred to the same, or different, people. By 1881 the property restriction had been lifted, increasing the number of males who could appear on the rolls, and therefore the chances of finding possible links, but multiple registration was still valid.⁴⁸ The concept of 'one-man, one-vote' was not introduced until 1889, and in 1896 the provision for non-residential registration (through property ownership) was lifted.⁴⁹

After 1853 then, every male over the age of twenty-one who owned freehold or leasehold property was eligible to vote, and therefore is likely to appear on an electoral roll. And after 1896, any who had lived in New Zealand for over a year,

⁴⁷ The *New Zealand Constitution Act, 1852* set out the franchise qualification:

The right to register as an elector was granted to all males aged 21 years and over who fulfilled at least one of the following criteria:

- ownership of a freehold property valued at 50 pounds or more for at least six months prior to the date set for the registration of electors, or
- possession of leasehold property with an annual rental value of at least 10 pounds and with at least three years to run (or which the claimant had leased continuously for at least three years prior to the date of registration), or
- a householder occupying a property with an annual rental value of at least 10 pounds in an urban area or five pounds in a rural area, and who had occupied it for at least six months.

Alan McRobie, *New Zealand Electoral Atlas*, GP Books, Wellington, 1989: 29. This book is invaluable as a guide to registration qualifications, and to the changing electoral boundaries.

⁴⁸ 'The franchise qualification was extended to include all males aged 21 and over who *either* owned property *or* who had lived in New Zealand for at least one year and in an electorate for at least six months before registering as an elector.' McRobie, *New Zealand Electoral Atlas*: 47

⁴⁹ McRobie, *New Zealand Electoral Atlas*: 55, 63.

and in an electorate for over six months, should also be listed.⁵⁰ Obviously, not all eligible voters were enrolled to vote, but the Electoral Rolls are still probably the best source for tracing adult males.

The main physical handicap of the Electoral Rolls is that they are broken into electorates, rather than being an alphabetical listing for New Zealand as a whole. In order to find people who shifted large distances, every electorate in New Zealand would have to be searched. Obviously this was not possible, so only those electorates surrounding Mt. Peel Station were chosen.⁵¹ Unfortunately this meant that those who experienced long-distance geographical mobility could not always be traced.

One of the bonuses of the Electoral Rolls was the listing of occupations for many of the years.⁵² This both made identification easier (primarily by dismissing people with the same name who had completely incongruous occupations), and also allowed the occupations for positive links to be traced over time. The 'place of residence' could also often confirm or reject a possible link.

Similar to the Electoral Rolls was the Freeholders' Return. Although both give access to information about land ownership, there are two main differences. The Freeholders' Return has the advantage that all owners of freehold land were listed alphabetically for New Zealand as a whole, rather than being separated into districts as with the Electoral Rolls. Also, even though the Electoral Rolls generally note the section number of any household, leasehold, or freehold land, they normally do not indicate how large the block of land was.⁵³ In contrast, the Freeholders' notes both the amount and value of any freehold country land, and the value of any borough

⁵⁰ The number of people on the roll increased as the population expanded and as eligibility restrictions were lifted. Understandably, the time needed to go through the rolls also increased. Because of this, the later rolls could only be looked at in increments of five years (where the rolls were available). Although ten-year intervals would have been better to minimise the time spent on the one source, this would have raised the risk of missing individuals who only owned property for a short time, or who shifted in and out of the area within the decade.

⁵¹ In cases where it was known where someone had shifted, these electorates were sometimes scanned to find additional information, but the main focus was on the electorates around Mt. Peel – Ashburton, Chalmers, Cheviot, Christchurch, Coleridge, Ellesmere, Geraldine, Gladstone, Lincoln, Mount Cook, Pareora, Rakaia, Rangitata, Seadown, Selwyn, Timaru, Waimate, Waitaki, Waitangi, Wakanui.

⁵² For some reason, during the 1860s and 1870s occupations were not listed.

⁵³ In some instances the size of a block of land is mentioned. Normally this is for half or quarter acre sections, but sometimes it does happen for a larger block. This, however, is the exception rather than the rule.

land.⁵⁴ Consequently, the Electoral Rolls are most useful for showing how an individual's land ownership changed over time (for instance how long they had owned the lease on a block of land before they bought it freehold) while the Freeholders' Return gives a snapshot view of the amount and value of freehold land an individual owned, on one day.

Another landholding source was a list of early sections purchased in Canterbury.⁵⁵ Unlike the Electoral Rolls and the Freeholders' Return, this listed both the size and section number of each section purchased before 30 April 1863. The major failing of this source was that it was arranged by section number, rather than by surname. As could be expected, this reduced its usefulness and made searching through it somewhat time-consuming. Once a possible link was found, the identification process was also made difficult. Occupations were not listed, and often only an initial was given rather than a full first name. Because of this it was often difficult to make a positive link without the assistance of some other source. Also, as the list was published so early, the majority of the labourers did not appear on it. Many had not yet arrived in New Zealand, or they had not yet been born. For seven early arrivals, however, this list provided landholding information.

Although landholding records were a good indicator of prosperity in colonial New Zealand, other sources were able to provide an idea of overall affluence. To obtain an indication of wealth at the time of person's death was relatively simple (provided a date of death was known, or some other identifying information). The Canterbury Museum holds the *Death Duty Registers Index* for Canterbury from 1867 until 1914.⁵⁶ As well as listing date of death, occupation and often the date of probate, date of will, and names of executors or next of kin, this index also records the size of the estate. It is likely that there would have been ways of manipulating the estates to

⁵⁴ It is quite astonishing how much variation there can be in the price per acre of land in a similar area. Examples in Geraldine were found of the value of country land which varied from 1.25 pounds per acre up to a massive 850 pounds per acre. Perhaps most surprising was that of the Geraldine country land, no 'farmers' had land worth over 17.17 pounds per acre, and the most valuable piece of land was owned by a labourer. [These figures are not restricted to those who worked at Mt. Peel, but are taken from all the possible links found in the Freeholders' Return.]

⁵⁵ *Province of Canterbury, New Zealand: List of Sections Purchased to April 30, 1863.*

⁵⁶ The register from which this index is compiled contains 13 volumes with approximately 11,000 entries. These record details of estates for implementation of the provisions of the Stamp Duty Act 1866 and its successors. See Nancy McLaughlin and Denis Hampton, *Canterbury Death Duty Registers Index 1867-1914*, NZSG Microfiche Publications, Auckland, 1989.

minimise the duty paid but the index does give a fairly accurate indication of wealth at death.

For the most descriptive view of a person's estate the best source was the Probate itself.⁵⁷ Probates proved to be one of the most valuable sources. In spite of some which were sparse and unhelpful, perhaps giving no more information than a date of death and size of estate, others were veritable gold mines. Often a spouse and all children were listed as beneficiaries, or executors, generally providing both their names and occupations. The probate almost always gave some indication as to a testator's occupation just before death, and their will and codicils could also give a snapshot of landholdings, occupational positions, and attitudes towards family members over many years.

While wills and codicils could show these changes through time, an intestate probate could shed even more light on possessions at death. In all intestate cases the court would appoint someone to draw up an inventory of all possessions and moneys owed. It was very rare to find cases where this had actually been carried out (or at least where the papers had been kept with the probate), but in the small number where it had, the findings could be very enlightening.

As can be seen, the *Death Duty Registers Index* and probates were invaluable for showing someone's affluence at the time of their death. It was, however, more difficult to gain an impression of how they were doing at various stages of their lives. The most useful sources in this case, with most of these labourers involved in the rural economy, were the annual sheep returns in the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*. Because these did not contain any information apart from sheep numbers, place, and a name (almost always both Christian and surname) it was, again, difficult to make positive identifications, and in most cases one had to be certain that no others with the same name were in the area. Where individuals could be distinguished, however, it was possible to see how the size of their flock had changed over a period of years.

It has been mentioned before that those who were rich or prominent were more likely to appear in sources. There are, however, some sources where the opposite is the

⁵⁷ Although many of the probates were listed in the *Death Duty Registers Index*, this was not true all of the time, similarly not all of the probates found were listed in the *Death Duty Registers Index*.

case. One of these is an index to bankruptcies in Canterbury from 1863 until 1880.⁵⁸ This offers a rare glimpse of those who were not successful, at least at one stage in their lives. When this information was combined with the Electoral Rolls, the Freeholders' Return, Probates and the Death Duty Index, it was possible to construct some very interesting illustrations of how fortunes could change.

Similarly, the *Police Gazettes*, Court, Hospital and Charitable aid records provided invaluable information on the less successful in society. They often provided a surprising amount of information including, in some cases, information on education and literacy. In one case, despite using a number of aliases, a labourer was traced throughout both the South and North Islands. This was possible because the man was missing the top finger of one hand, and had several tattoos, information recorded in the *Police Gazettes*. Obviously not all these sources directly produced relevant information, but they often provided clues which could be used to extract the required information from another source.

Many sources are available with which to build up biographies of ordinary New Zealanders. While the rich and famous tend to be the most obvious and prominent in every society, the patient use of a variety of sources often allows the stories of others to be examined as well. One of the most important parts of this thesis was finding out which sources could be used effectively and which could not, and, for future studies, what basic information is essential at the outset to produce the best results.

It is clear that some sources are more useful than others for different tasks, either because of practicalities in the way they are set out, or because of the information they contain. The standardised, alphabetically-organised lists, such as the Electoral Rolls and the Freeholders' Return, which noted occupation and a place of residence, are most useful for quantitative analysis. At the same time non-standardised sources, such as probates and obituaries, are vital for adding the qualitative colouring and depth. Both types of source are necessary to produce a historically accurate representation which still reflects the vagaries of real life.

Figure 1 outlines an approach which should result in a success rate significantly higher than from a random search of sources.

⁵⁸ Denis Hampton, and New Zealand Society of Genealogists, *Bankruptcies in Canterbury, NZ, 1863-1880 : An Index [Microform]*, New Zealand Society of Genealogists, Auckland, 1991.

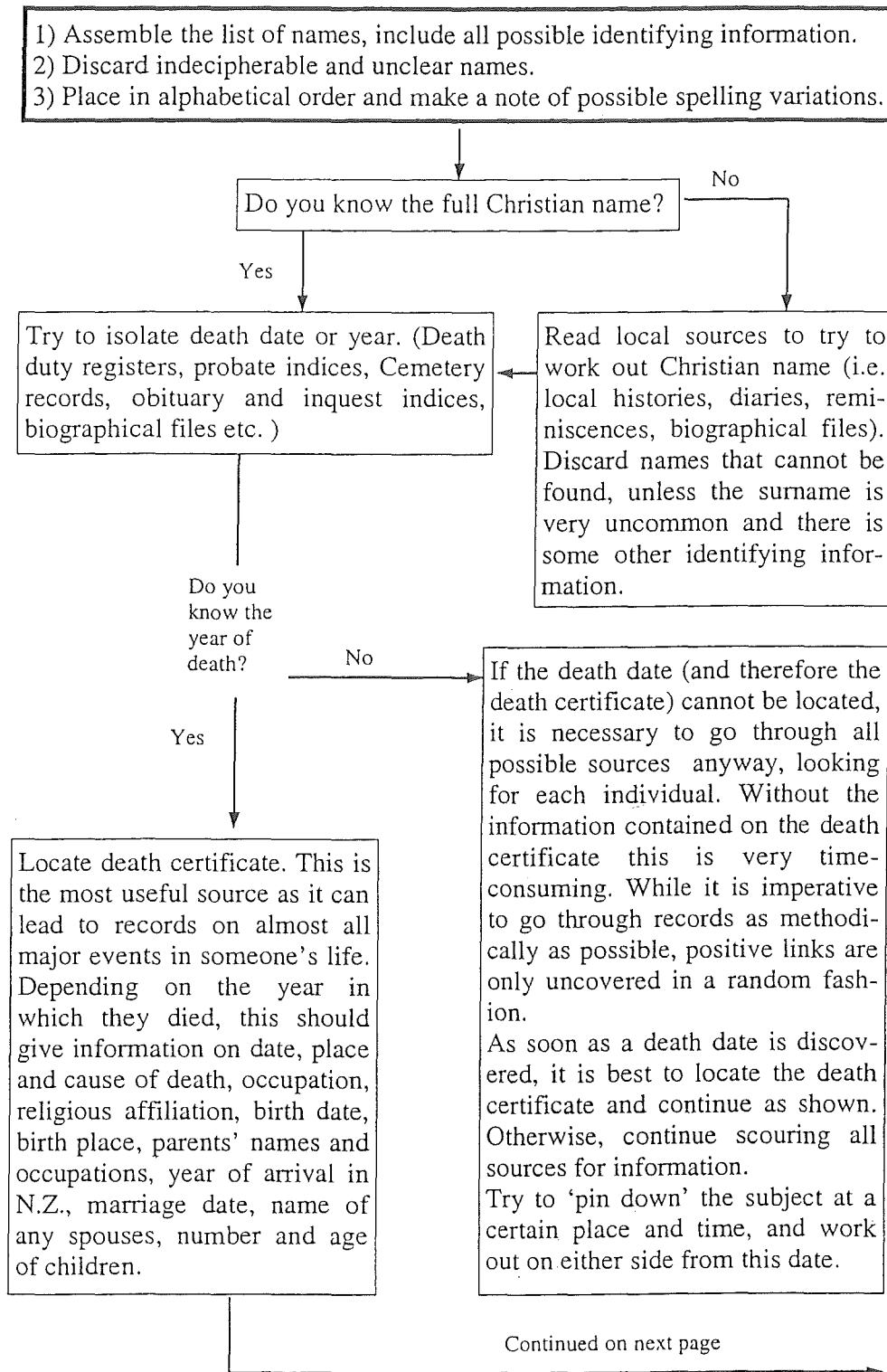


Figure 1 - Flow chart outlining the best approach to sources for successful tracing.

Use information from the death certificate to provide identifying information and lead to positive links in as many sources as possible.

Scan newspapers for obituaries. As well as general biographical information these may provide information to link to electoral rolls, street directories, and land-holding records. If local histories etc. have not been looked at yet, they may provide useful linking information. (Probate files also often give information on landholding.)

Find birth certificates (or baptism records) for any children. This will show changes in residence and occupation over time.

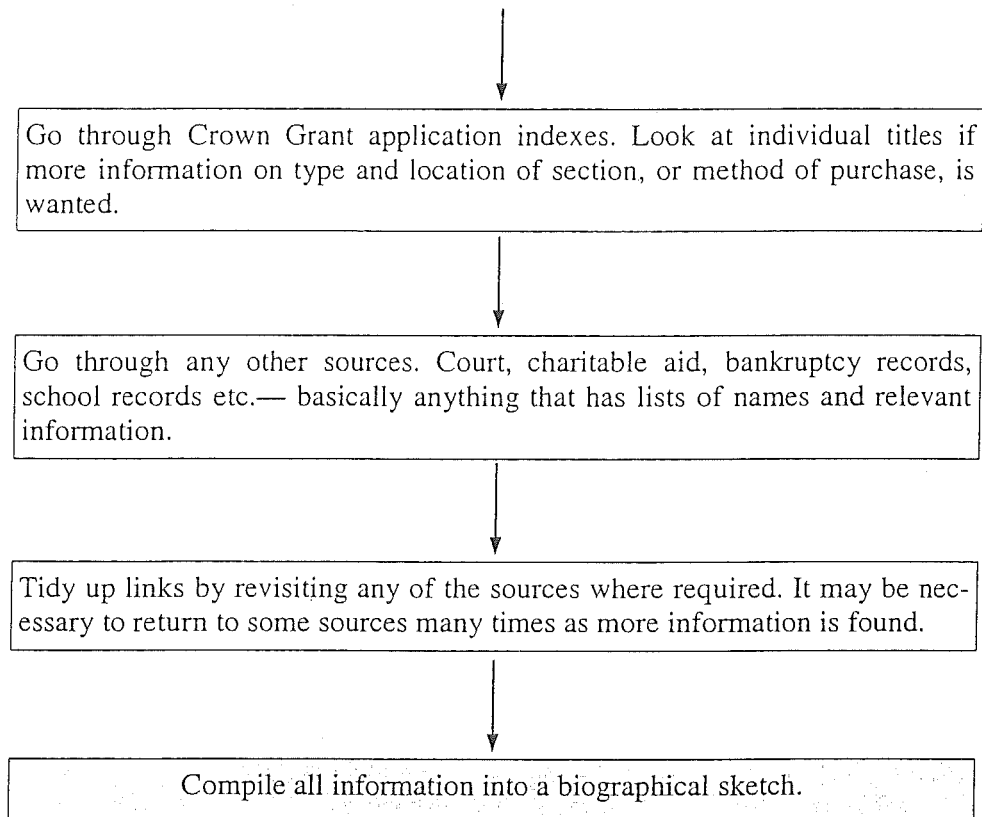
Find marriage certificate. Again, provides information on occupation at another stage in life. Also verifies birth date. (Remember the ages given in any source may be inaccurate).

Find birth certificate. Verifies date and place of birth, as well as giving information on parents.

Go through shipping lists. This will give place of origin, occupation at entry to N.Z., and information about family structure or travelling companions.

Go through Electoral Rolls, street directories, the Freeholders' Return, sheep returns etc.

Continued on next page.



Chapter 3 - Quantitative - Success vs. Failure

One way of examining the conflicting claims that rural workers represented either an 'apprenticeship' or a 'proletariat' is to consider the quantitative evidence available. How many of the men employed at Mt. Peel experienced the type of mobility alluded to in immigration propaganda? What proportion of labourers 'succeeded,' and how many 'failed'? Before these questions can be answered, however, various qualifications must be made. These include: how many labourers were unable to be included in the final sample (through indistinct writing, common names, or a lack of identifying information), and how this effects the outcome; how the act of appearing in some sources indicates a degree of social visibility which is inherently biased towards the successful, and what attempts have been made to minimise the affect of this; and any other ways in which the data could be biased. We also need to examine how success and failure have been defined and measured.

The number of men employed at Mt. Peel cannot be established exactly. Many of the names in the wages' books were repeated, indicating either more than one man with the same name, or only one man who was listed on more than one occasion. In some cases it was possible to discern that several entries referred to the same person (a note specifying that the entry was a continuation from a previous one, dates matching seamlessly with a previous entry, a specific job or task being performed each time, or a pattern appearing in the method of saving, spending, lending or borrowing). In many cases though, there was no way of telling.

As an example, in the original list of names drawn from the wages' books there were six entries for men with the surname Chapman and the first initial W – W. Chapman, W. M. Chapman, Wm. Chapman (1), Wm. Chapman (2), Wm. Martin Chapman, and Wm. Taylor Chapman. Looking at all possible combinations of names, it was clear that this could refer to a maximum of six and a minimum of two men. To exclude the risk of 'losing' men, at first it was necessary to assume that the entries referred to six separate individuals. Over time, as links were established between various entries, this was whittled down to a maximum of three – William Chapman, his son William Taylor Chapman, and an unidentified William Martin Chapman. It is possible that William Chapman (the father) is actually the same person as William Martin Chapman, but there has been no way to check this as no source mentions his middle name. In order to maximise the total population (and therefore minimise the risk of biases in the findings)

these were counted as two separate men. Once all possible links had been made within the wages' books, 477 men were left. Although this number may include some men who were counted twice, it can be taken as our maximum population.

Out of this maximum population, only some of the men were 'traceable.' A number had to be eliminated, either immediately or in subsequent stages of research. Those eliminated at the very beginning were removed from the population because their names could not be read clearly. Later removal was necessary for two reasons: either it became obvious that there was more than one person in the area with the same name (and no way of distinguishing which one had worked at Mt. Peel), or a lack of precise information meant that it was not possible to link the man positively to any of the possible appearances in the sources.

Cases of elimination because of indistinct writing were rare. Only 15 names could not be distinguished at all, or could not be distinguished with any certainty. This included men whose Christian names were given with alternatives. Men excluded under this criterion included a Mr Cartwright whose first name could have been either Joseph or James, a man listed as both J. Hampton Edmonson or just as J. Hampton, and William McKay who was also known as Alec.¹ It was pointless including these men as it would have not been possible to rely on the links made to other sources.

Common names were much more of a problem. Men in this category had at least one namesake in the South Canterbury area, and it was impossible to distinguish between them.² As well as typical common names such as John Smith or Henry Williams, there were also some less usual instances – James Noonan, Edwin Wright and James Costello all had namesakes in South Canterbury while they were alive. This problem was exacerbated by a number of men who had inherited their father's names. Often it was not possible to tell which generation was being referred to. A total of 109 men had to be excluded because of this problem.

The final category, men eliminated because of a lack of identifying information, has some similarities with the previous category. When only one person could be found in South Canterbury with the same name, but where the name or specific job being performed was not distinctive enough to make a positive link, that person was

¹ This did not include situations where different spellings of the same names were used (For instance Stewart and Stuart). These men were included, and searched for under each possible variation.

² Namesakes outside the South Canterbury area were not generally considered when deciding if a name was 'common,' unless the Mt. Peel worker could be positively identified as having shifted into an area where this confusion could again occur.

excluded. Unlike common names where there was evidence that more than one person was in the area at the time, in these cases it seemed likely that there was only one person, but there was not enough evidence to make a positive connection to any other source.

Also included in this category were those men for whom the writing was coherent and readable, but not enough information was given for effective tracing. In many cases the wages' books listed only the worker's initial, rather than the full Christian name, and sometimes only a surname was given. Even if two initials were given, it was seldom possible to identify the individual in other sources. For instance W. H. Cooke could not be singled out from the hundreds of W.s, Williams or Walters who had the surname Cook or Cooke, unless they were also listed with their middle initial. All those men whose Christian names were not given were also excluded under this category, unless the missing details could reliably be gathered from another source.³ A lack of identifying information excluded 185 men from the original list.

Excluding names introduces the possibility of bias. Each of the methods of exclusion are based on the same premise: enough information had to be available to guarantee confidence in positive links. How much information was 'enough' varied in each case, and was ultimately dependent on how uncommon the name was. In every case, a clear surname was essential. For very uncommon names, just the surname and initial was sufficient. For more common names, a first name was needed, and for very common names, additional details were essential, whether provided initially by the wages' book or through a later positive link.

Theoretically, as the rejection process was based almost totally on legibility, amount of information contained in the wages' books and commonness of name, there should be no biases directly incurred through the rejection process. In practice, this is not the case. When a name was included because linking information was provided by another source (such as reminiscences, obituaries or local histories which could accurately pinpoint the individual as being at Mt. Peel at the correct time), the very act of appearing in that source indicates a degree of success or social standing. This approach therefore biases the sample towards the successful and well known in the community,

³ This is why possible matches had to be collected as well as positive ones. In many cases where no positive links had been made, the late discovery of a local history or obituary was enough to pin someone down at Mt. Peel at the right time. This could give provide a person's Christian name, and thus allow confirmation of links which until then had only been possibilities. Sometimes the surname alone was uncommon enough to justify inclusion, even though a first name was not given.

and discriminates against the ineffective, unnoticed, and transient. Many of the sources added to this bias.

When we look at the types of sources available to the social historian, it is clear that a somewhat distorted view will be provided. Each type of source is biased towards a certain group. In some the bias is more evident than in others, but each provides a slightly different view of society. Although it is not feasible to eliminate this bias totally, it is possible to minimise the effects by using as many different sources as possible, especially those which have opposing biases. Landholding records and street directories, for instance, are invariably biased towards the more affluent and stable sectors of society, while bankruptcy, police and charitable aid records are biased towards those who were unsuccessful and with a higher likelihood of transience. By utilising both types of source, the contrasting focus of each minimises the overall bias towards either side. Similarly, the use of records which were not reliant on status (primarily those records based on death, and to a slightly lesser extent birth or marriage) ensures a fairly balanced representation of society. Even penniless single transient men generally had their deaths recorded somewhere. While it is true that the most frequent appearances in nearly all sources owned property, were married and were geographically stable, using an extensive range of sources minimised the possible biases and ensured that even the unsuccessful had some chance of being traced.

Table 1 - Traceable and Excluded Workers

	Number	Percentage
Traceable	168	35.22%
Excluded	309	64.78%
Total	477	100.00%

As shown in Table 1, the three methods of rejection eliminated 168 men from the original maximum of 477. This leaves a total of 168 men who were considered 'traceable,' 35.22 per cent of the original population. Although this seems to be a small percentage of the initial number of men, the results are in fact very favourable when compared with other studies carried out using similar methods.

McAloon's study of the colonial wealthy ascertained biographical details for just over half of a total of 750 estates, with much lower rates for the least prosperous.⁴ This number is actually a surprisingly low success rate for two reasons. As McAloon drew his list from probate records, he had access to each subject's date of death, which can lead to very accurate identifying information on almost every aspect of their life. Because of the accumulated wealth of these men there was also a very high chance of their appearance in a number of public sources. If McAloon had sought material from a larger range of sources (such as marriage and death certificates or landholding information), instead of basing his research almost exclusively on information contained in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* and newspaper obituaries, his traceable success rate should have been much closer to 100 per cent.⁵ The gathering of information purely from these two particular sources also biased his results dramatically towards the wealthiest of his sample. While McAloon freely admits that 'Many of those who left between £10000 and £20000 were quite obscure, and there is no biographical material for them in the public record,' it seems that no attempt was made to utilise other sources systematically to make up for this deficiency.⁶

The Mt. Peel men were significantly less well off than even the poorest of McAloon's group, minimizing the chance of their appearing in any printed sources. For comparison, the *Cyclopedia* and newspapers supplied useable information on only 15 of these men. If this study had been based on only these two sources, like McAloon's research, there would have been a traceable rate of around three per cent (assuming that it would have been possible to link the men directly from the wages' books to the *Cyclopedia* and newspaper obituaries). When considering the lack of initial identifying information and the low status of most of the Mt. Peel workers, the actual rate achieved is remarkably high.

While McAloon had the advantage of initially knowing each person's death date, Pickens did not. As he drew his sample from marriage certificates of men listed as 'labourer,' his method of tracing was much more similar to that used in this thesis; he did not have the option of working backwards from the death certificate using its detailed information. Pickens was able to trace only about one third of his labourers

⁴ Jim McAloon, 'Colonial Wealth: The Rich in Canterbury and Otago', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1993: 6, 54-55.

⁵ Ibid: 6, 55.

⁶ Ibid: 54-55.

from their marriage to death.⁷ This result is very similar to the 35.22 per cent who could be traced in this thesis.⁸ The use of marriage certificates for Pickens' initial sample provided considerably more linking information than the wages' books. Depending on the year of marriage, Pickens' original sample would have included information on the full name of the newlyweds, occupation, and probably the age of both (although in many cases this was merely given as 'of full age' or 'minor.') If married after 1880, there would have also been information on birthplace, residence, and the parents of both parties. By using these details and the yearly death certificate indices, positive identification would be assured once the correct year was found. Pickens acknowledges that the number of links from marriage to death was reduced because people shifted out of Canterbury, the only area he examined. For this study of Mt. Peel workers, this risk was minimised by, where possible, using sources covering all of New Zealand.⁹

In short, the traceable rate of 35.22 per cent compares favourably to that determined by both Pickens and McAloon. Although the Mt. Peel population had almost no identifying information other than a name, and was drawn from one of the least visible sectors of society, the actual success rate for gathering information from other sources was almost as high as McAloon's, and seems to have been slightly higher than Pickens'. If their sources and methods had been relied upon to trace the Mt. Peel labourers, the traceable rate would have been significantly lower.

⁷ Pickens, 'Occupational Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century British Colony': 410.

⁸ This traceable rate is for **all** of the labourers. Death details were found for over 70 per cent of those for whom marriage details were known, a figure significantly higher than achieved by Pickens.

⁹ For instance, *The New Zealand Police Gazette; A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, 1882, Government Printer, Wellington, 1884; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directories*; Denis Hampton, *Intestate Estates New Zealand Gazette: 1843-1869 [Microform]*, New Zealand Society of Genealogists, Auckland, 1989; Denis Hampton and New Zealand Society of Genealogists, *Bankruptcies in New Zealand 1881-1940: An Index [Microform]*, New Zealand Society of Genealogists, Auckland, C.1991; Alexander Turnbull Library, and National Library of New Zealand, *Alexander Turnbull Library Biographies Index [Microform] : Rarangi Haurongo*, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, 1995.

What is Success?

For this thesis, 'success' is defined in terms of three factors: leaving an estate of over £200, owning any amount of freehold land, or being significantly upwardly mobile in occupational terms.¹⁰ Although assessment of 'significant mobility' is subjective, it is still based on semi-objective criteria. The shift from labouring to farming, or other self-employment is considered significant. The movement into, for instance, shepherding is not. This would be seen as 'successful' only if one of the other conditions (landholding or size of estate) is fulfilled as well. Where there is no evidence of either of the other conditions being fulfilled, rather than being seen as 'failing,' this type of shift is viewed as inconclusive.

Originally it was intended that the land qualification should be set at an essentially arbitrary level of fifty acres, but this was changed for two reasons. Firstly, the benefits of owning even a small amount of land became obvious. Even if not used for self-employed farming, any amount of land could provide extra income or sustenance, and must therefore be seen as a significant asset. Secondly, in many cases where it had been established that land was owned, there was no way of determining the size or value of it.

Someone could still be deemed successful if they had owned land or attained upward mobility during their lives, even if they did not leave an estate of over £200. Many of the labourers 'lived the colonial dream,' as it were, only to lose their prosperity slowly in retirement. For instance, Peter Hoban owned over 2000 acres of land towards the end of the century, but left an estate of less than £150 when he died in 1912. As he had not been bankrupted, and his death certificate gives his place of death as the Christchurch mental hospital, it is likely that his assets were taken off him in his later years.¹¹ Although his estate was less than £200, there was enough evidence to indicate that overall his life had been 'successful.'¹²

¹⁰ These criteria are very stringent: £200 was the equivalent of about 2 – 4 years wages for these men, and ownership of leasehold land was not included.

¹¹ Note the North Canterbury Hospital Board Rules dated 15 October 1892 transcribed in Margaret Tennant, *Paupers and Providers: Charitable Aid in New Zealand*, Allen & Unwin/Historical Branch, Wellington, 1989: 206. '19. All inmates in receipt of pensions or remittances, or who may obtain any money by legal process, must hand the amounts over to the Master forthwith, who will transmit the same to the Board and await directions as to its disposal.'

¹² Sources in which Peter appears include: *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*, 1893 and 1898; [CH-290] 42C - Index to Crown Grants - Nos 34700-37116 c.1882-c.1892; Canterbury Public L Sydenham Cemetery transcript; Wellington National Archives Probate File - AAOM, Wellington High Court Series 6029, 14709 HOBAN, PETER; Death Certificate # 1266, 1912, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington.

Bankruptcy created some problems for deciding whether someone had been a success. There were enough cases of bankrupts regaining their wealth to establish that it did not necessarily indicate enduring failure. Some rules had to be applied to decide on each bankrupt's eventual classification. If bankrupted within the two decades preceding their death, and there was no evidence to suggest that they had regained any of their wealth, they were deemed to have failed. When there was evidence of a recovery after bankruptcy, they reverted back to 'successful' status.

These criteria lead to an extremely stringent definition of success biased against those who only experienced small-scale mobility: £200 was the equivalent of 2 – 4 years' wages in savings for most workers; leasehold land, which could provide much the same benefits as freehold, was not taken into account; and the broad two-tier occupational scale would not recognise the type of low-scale mobility which could be expected under the agricultural ladder thesis. Even in cases where upward mobility was likely but unproven the stringent criteria ensured that it was downplayed. These criteria all compensate, to some extent, for the possibility that those who were traceable were abnormally successful cases. The rates of success can be taken as absolute minimums.

What is Failure?

There were three main ways that someone was deemed to have failed. The first was when that person did not appear in any source at all. This indicated that they had not purchased land, left an estate or been occupationally mobile. It is possible that some of these men had shifted out of New Zealand, or just out of Canterbury, but did not subsequently appear in any of the New Zealand-wide sources. While not necessarily indicative of failure, the majority of social mobility studies have noted an inverse relationship between geographical and upward social mobility, so it can generally be assumed that this group will not have been as successful as those who remained in the area.¹³ Pickens also employed this assumption and acknowledged that we can expect those who shifted to have been less successful than persisters.¹⁴

¹³ For instance Stephan Thernstrom, and Peter R. Knights, 'Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1(1), 1970: 25; Goldstein, *Patterns of Mobility 1910-1950 the Norristown Study*: 53-4, 234.

¹⁴ Pickens, 'Occupational Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century British Colony': 410.

When any of the workers were listed as labourers on their death certificate and left an estate of less than £200 they were also considered to have failed. This situation was surprisingly uncommon. Out of the forty-four death certificates and thirty-eight probates which could be traced, only seven men were described as labourers. Out of the thirty-six known estates, only six were under £200.¹⁵ Only one man appeared in both these groups.

Slightly more common was the situation where bankruptcy had been filed shortly before death, or where there was evidence that the bankrupt had not later recovered. Nine men could be positively traced to bankruptcy registers or files. Bankruptcy did not, however, thwart success. In four bankruptcy cases more land was purchased after bankruptcy, or the original landholdings were not affected.¹⁶ In a further three cases a death date was not known so it was impossible to assume failure, and an inconclusive result had to be returned. In only two cases was there evidence that the men did not recover. Both of these men were bankrupted after the age of fifty.

When it was not clear how the subject had fared, an inconclusive result had to be posted. This most often occurred when there was definite evidence of success or failure, but later conflicting evidence could not be positively linked, or where there were early indicators of success, but no positive corroborative evidence later in life.¹⁷ Failure could not be assumed, but neither could success. In most inconclusive cases, success seemed likely, but the evidence was not strong enough to guarantee that this is what happened. The use of an inconclusive category also ensured that both success and failure were measured at similar points in the labourers' lives, somewhere between late middle-age and death.

¹⁵ One probate did not specify the size of the estate, and one man was probated more than once. This is why only 36 estate values are known, although 38 probates were found.

¹⁶ One of the men who owed over £1000 in debts around Ashburton, Tinwald and Christchurch, was discharged after none of his creditors turned up to the hearing. It appears that this resulted in his debts being wiped without him being penalised at all. See Benjamin Ede's bankruptcy file –[CH 214] CAMO, Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch, BOX 117 195 EDE B 1891.

¹⁷ For instance, William Hayhurst, who worked at Mt. Peel from 1862-3, definitely owned 40 acres of freehold land near Geraldine by 1871. He appeared as a freeholder in the electoral rolls in 1871 and 1872 but then disappeared from all records. Despite early signs of success, it is not possible to assume that he continued to rise, so an inconclusive result had to be posted.

Out of the 168 traceable labourers, 68 (40.48 per cent) were definitely successful. These men all lost their total reliance on wage labour and managed to buy land, met with occupational mobility, or were able to accumulate savings. In contrast, 45 labourers (26.79 per cent) failed. (Figure 2 and Figure 3) They remained in labouring positions until their deaths, did not buy land, died with little or no savings or were bankrupted and never recovered.

Although this number is significantly lower than the number who succeeded, it would be rash to conclude that the majority of labourers were able to climb the agricultural ladder, or otherwise find success. The danger lies in the large number of cases where not enough evidence could be found to decide either way.

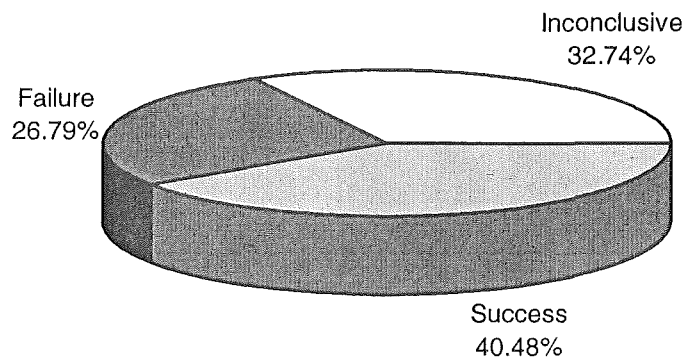


Figure 2 - Success vs. Failure (Percentages)

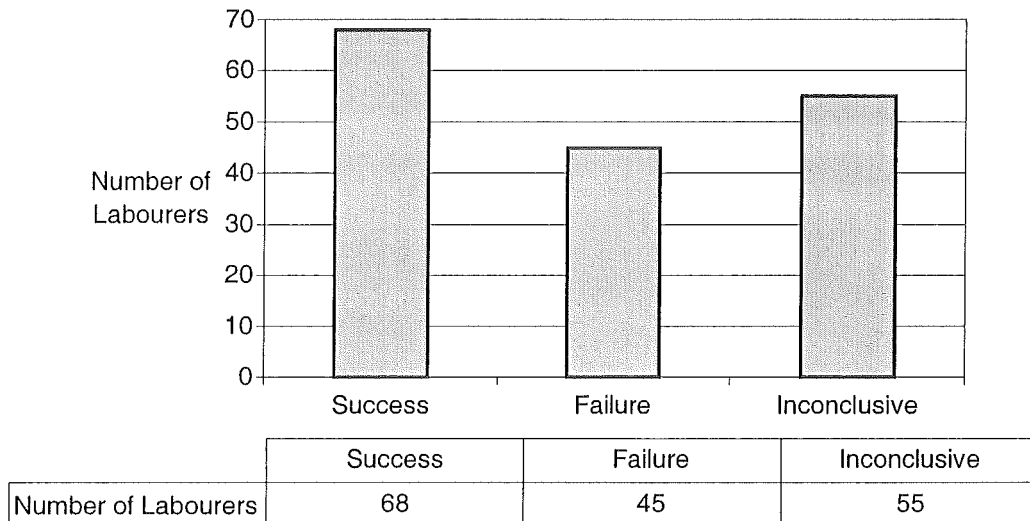


Figure 3 - Success vs. Failure (Numbers)

As can be seen in figures 2 and 3, Almost one third (32.74 per cent) of the cases were inconclusive. The majority of these 55 men probably experienced some upward social mobility, but there was not enough evidence to label them as 'successes.' For most of these men, there is no evidence that they failed, but this cannot be discounted. Regrettably, as this group is so large it affects the usefulness of the other findings.

It was hoped that the quantitative evidence gathered in this study would have enabled a definitive answer to whether New Zealand was a 'land of opportunity,' but the bulk of evidence available is not robust enough to support either argument directly. If all the 'inconclusive' men did in fact fail, the opportunities in New Zealand were a lot lower than expected, but even if only half of these were actually successful, then the success rate was extremely high. The large number of inconclusive and untraceable cases does not render this study useless, but it does make the answers more uncertain. Intuition and the impression gained from working closely with all of these cases for almost two years suggests that the majority of them did not fail, even if there was not enough evidence to proclaim them upwardly socially mobile. Unfortunately, quantitative analysis cannot be based on intuition.

It is clear that considerably more labourers were definitely successful than those who obviously failed, but it would be unwise to generalise more than this. It must be remembered, however, that the criteria used to define 'success' were stringent. While

many did not reach these levels, and were therefore not successful, it cannot be assumed that they necessarily 'failed.' It is not possible to put forward a much stronger conclusion without more accurate and solid information. Despite the failure of the quantitative data to provide definitive answers as to the likelihood of colonial success, they can shed light on other angles of the topic of rural social mobility.

Land Ownership

Almost all historians recognise the link between land ownership and wealth accumulation in colonial New Zealand. At least 39.88 per cent of the Mt. Peel labourers owned land at some stage.¹⁸ When one considers that most landholding records cover only until the early 1890s, and that many links to the records could not be confirmed because of insufficient information (rather than because that name did not appear in the source) this figure could be significantly higher. As only freehold land was recorded, and not leasehold, which was almost as valuable, again, these figures can be seen as underestimates.

Unfortunately, as with much of the data, a lot of the land information was not precise enough to enable in-depth investigation. Despite this, analysis of the 37 confirmed Freeholders' entries does provide some interesting comparisons with those figures given by John Martin.

Figure 4 compares Martin's figures for Rural Workers' and All Freeholders' average values of freehold land with the equivalent figures for the Mt. Peel Labourers.¹⁹

¹⁸ This figure, and all following figures, are given as a percentage of the traceable labourers.

¹⁹ Remember, these figures do not include those people who owned town, but not country land – that is, 'zero' holdings.

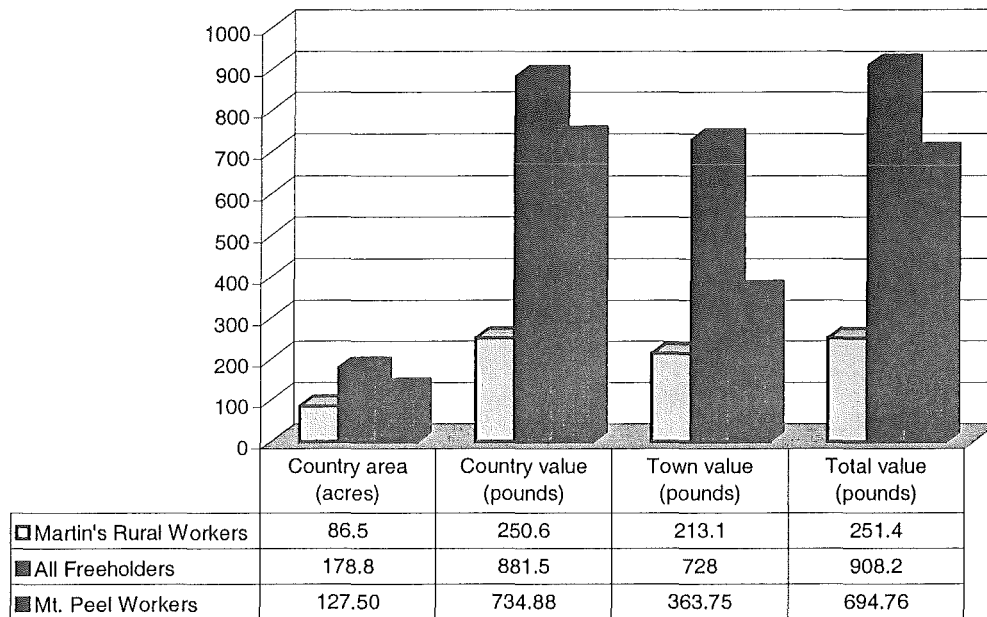


Figure 4 - Comparative Freehold Values

This chart is based on Table 2 in John E. Martin,
'Rural workers and the Freeholders' Returns of 1882': 4.

It is clear that, except for the value of town land, all of the Mt. Peel values are significantly closer to 'All Freeholders' than Martin's. This discrepancy highlights the effects of Martin's static definition of 'rural worker.' The majority of the Mt. Peel workers were, at some stage, covered by Martin's definition, but when they appear in the Freeholders' Return only four of the men would still be included. All four of these men were shepherds. The eight men who were listed as labourers would have been excluded, along with seventeen who had shifted into the ranks of farmer. This increase in landholdings and subsequent occupational classification change effectively removes the majority of upwardly mobile men from the very sample that Martin uses to deny the frequency of upward mobility.

Perhaps even more interesting is the comparison of the Mt. Peel workers with Martin's 'Aggregated Country Land' in relation to his categories of Rural Workers, Settlers, Farmers, and the 'All Farming Group.' This comparison examines various types of holding based on overall size (Figure 5).

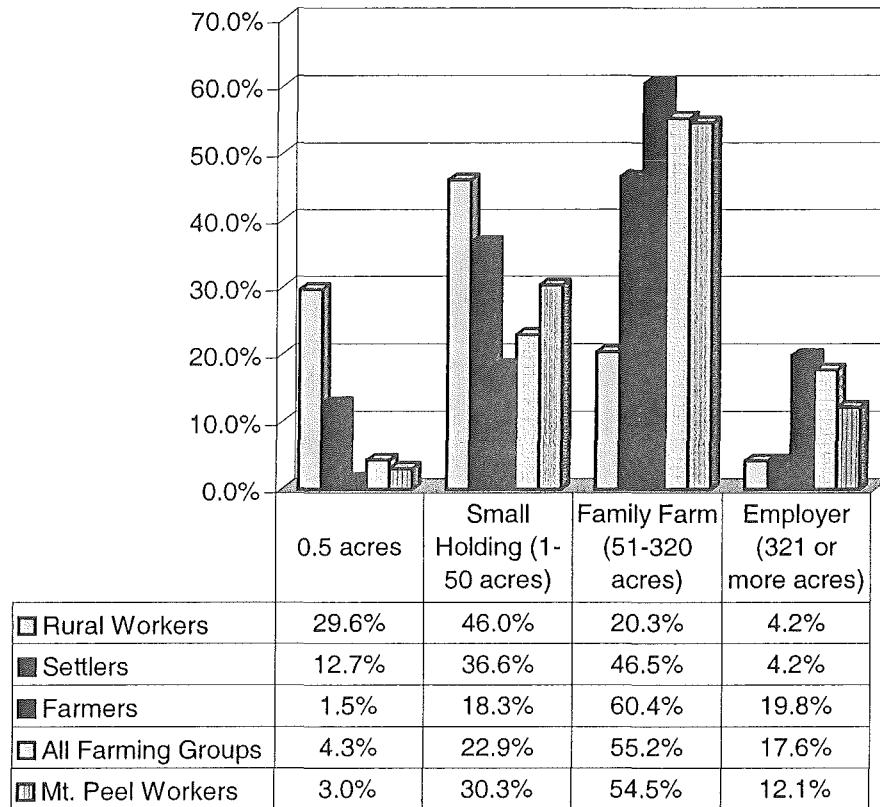


Figure 5 - Aggregate Comparisons

Based on Table 6 in John E. Martin, 'Rural workers and the Freeholders' Returns of 1882': 4.

It is clear that rather than mirroring Martin's 'Rural Workers,' the Mt. Peel Workers most closely fit the pattern shown by the Farmers and the All Farming Groups. This information again indicates that the majority of the Mt. Peel freeholders had experienced a shift away from owning insignificant sections and smallholdings, into holdings which could support either family farming or even the employment of others. Once again, this is exactly the type of mobility which Martin questions.

Occupational Mobility

Another aspect of this study which is appropriate for quantification, is an investigation of inter-generational occupational mobility. This information is primarily obtained from marriage and death certificates. As marriage could occur at different stages in the work-life, death certificates are the most reliable indicator of the overall lifetime mobility. Once again, the relatively small number of labourers

who could be traced until death means that our conclusions can only be general. Nonetheless some patterns are very clear.

The death certificates of 44 men were located. Five of these men had a father who was a labourer. None of the men from labouring origins died as labourers themselves, and all of them succeeded. Only four of the deceased were listed as labourers; none of these men had their father listed as labourer. This indicates that having a labourer father did not thwart the son's progress.

At the other end of the spectrum, having a father who was a farmer seems to have helped one's chances of success. Out of the twelve men from farmer origins, eight became farmers themselves, and only one of the twelve did not succeed.²⁰ Having a farming father was not, however, a prerequisite for becoming a farmer oneself. Out of the total of eighteen men who became farmers, ten were from non-farmer origins.

Although these intergenerational figures can give us only broad generalisations, they are interesting in light of Pickens' work. When Pickens looked at the fates of those labourers whose fathers had been farmers, he found that 53.3 per cent became farmers themselves, 20 per cent became 'other' and 26.7 per cent found themselves still as labourers.²¹ These figures are relatively close to those for the Mt. Peel farmers' sons.

Of Pickens' labourers' sons, 47.1 per cent were still labourers at death, 35.3 per cent had become farmers and 17.6 per cent were categorised as 'other.'²² Even though this is lower mobility than the Mt. Peel sample, it still means that over 50 per cent of Pickens' men from labouring origins had experienced upward intergenerational occupational mobility.

While Pickens' sample was considerably larger than the Mt. Peel one, the numbers of men of farmer or labourer origins were still fairly small. Only 45 men were of farmer origins, and 17 were labourer's sons. Nonetheless the fact that he was dealing with a larger sample suggests that his findings should be more accurate than the Mt. Peel figures. Although Pickens shows an overall lower intergenerational success rate for the sons of both farmers and labourers, his findings still support the generalisations made above. Coming from farming origins was likely to be a boon,

²⁰ The life of this man, Abner Clough, is examined in more detail in the chapter on those who failed.

²¹ Pickens, 'Occupational Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century British Colony': 409. I have ignored his breakdown into decades of marriage as the figures are too low to reach any reliable conclusions.

²² Ibid

and farmers' sons were much more likely to become farmers than those whose fathers were labourers.²³ At the same time, coming from a labouring background did not stifle success.

This chapter has been able to put forward only fairly general conclusions because of the nature of the quantitative data. Despite this, even these broad facts have important implications for the question of rural proletariat or rural apprenticeship.

Over 40 per cent of the Mt. Peel labourers experienced upward occupational mobility during their lives, at least a similar fraction were able to purchase land, and almost 20 per cent could be traced to estates of over £200. While the proportion of inconclusive results mean that it is impossible to claim definitely that success was more predominant than failure, the stringent criteria for 'success' means that it does seem likely. Even if this was not the case, there is ample evidence that upward social mobility was reasonably common.

The analysis in this section therefore supports the existence of a rural apprenticeship from two angles. Firstly, the type of upward occupational mobility which could be expected under this model was observed. Although not all of the labourers completed the shift into self-employed farming, over 40 per cent partially freed themselves from their reliance on wage labour, showing, at least, success at moving off the bottom rung of the agricultural ladder. Under the rural apprenticeship model one would also expect the consolidation of landholdings suitable for family farming or even the employment of others. When aggregate holdings were compared with Martin's sample of rural workers and in relation to all farming groups, this was exactly the situation. The evidence of both upward occupational mobility and the consolidation of land-holdings support the existence of a rural apprenticeship up the agricultural ladder.

Not only does the analysis support the existence of a rural apprenticeship, it also undermines the opposing model, that of a rural proletariat or landless rural working class. The high number of upwardly occupationally mobile cases indicates that formation of a distinct class based on occupation would be very unlikely. If, instead, a Marxist interpretation of class was used, based on the relationship to the means of

²³ Ibid: 408. This has also been noted by Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand c.1870 to c.1939': 49. A similar pattern, but much more restrictive was found in Lancashire by Mutch, 'The "Farming Ladder" in Northern Lancashire, 1840-1914: Myth or Reality?': 176-7.

production (i.e. landownership), this too is untenable. Over 40 per cent of the labourers were able to purchase land, much of which seems to have been used to supplement other income or to remove the need for wage labour altogether.²⁴ This situation removes the possibility of a working class bound together by their inability to gain control over their means of production. One other possibility for the emergence of a distinct rural working class could exist: the situation of an intergenerational rut trapping successive generations. Even the very broad intergenerational conclusions from the Mt. Peel workers rebuff this suggestion, as do the data provided by Pickens.

The quantitative data in this chapter are not able to assert categorically whether success or failure was predominant in rural nineteenth-century New Zealand. It has, however, enabled close examination of whether a rural apprenticeship or a rural proletariat was the most likely experience. Success was obviously a possibility for a large number of the Mt. Peel labourers with much of the data consistent with the rural apprenticeship model. Conversely, absolutely no evidence was found to support the emergence of a distinct rural working class. Although many of the Mt. Peel workers did not 'get on,' a large number did. Even with stringent criteria, the success rates were high enough to indicate that, for colonial labourers, upward social mobility must have been viewed as an achievable goal.

²⁴ Again, this does not include leasehold land, which could provide the same benefits.

Chapter 4 – Qualitative – Upwardly Mobile Case Studies

This thesis aims to look at rural social mobility both qualitatively and quantitatively. In this chapter the focus is on one of the less ‘measurable’ aspects – pathways to upward mobility. Rather than concentrating on the number of labourers who were successful, the chapter explores the factors that were most likely to influence rural colonial success, and the mechanisms through which these factors worked. This exploration is best accomplished by using biographical sketches of some of the Mt. Peel workers whose lives illustrate certain features or attributes which helped success.¹ Where possible, statistical evidence has been included.

Because the biographical information is necessarily fragmentary in nature, any statistical analysis has its difficulties. Unlike many sociological or historical studies with access to systematic data, it was not always possible to ask the same questions of each of the subjects. In many cases, the kinds of information available for an individual were of no practical use for this thesis, and in all cases there were gaps in the possible knowledge of each person’s life. The questions that can be answered depend entirely on what information was initially recorded, which sources have survived, and which pieces can be positively linked to an individual. Because of the inability to ‘test’ outside of these parameters, or to extrapolate from other information, the statistical analysis in this section is necessarily limited to those labourers who left information on each of the points of interest.² Depending on each question, these men make up around ten to fifteen per cent of the total number of labourers. While this group is only a small percentage of all the labourers under investigation, they do still illustrate the various factors that influenced success.

Our first three case studies are men who can be viewed as quintessential rural labourers, mirroring the men portrayed in colonial immigration propaganda. Their lives typify the popular image of colonial New Zealand, and the ascent up the ‘agricultural ladder.’

¹ These individual sketches have been selected to provide the best illustrations of possible pathways and influencing factors, and they should not be taken to be a representative sample of either Mt. Peel workers or rural labourers in general.

² Mainly arrival time, marital status, family size, geographical movements, occupational change, and land ownership.

Adam Irvine

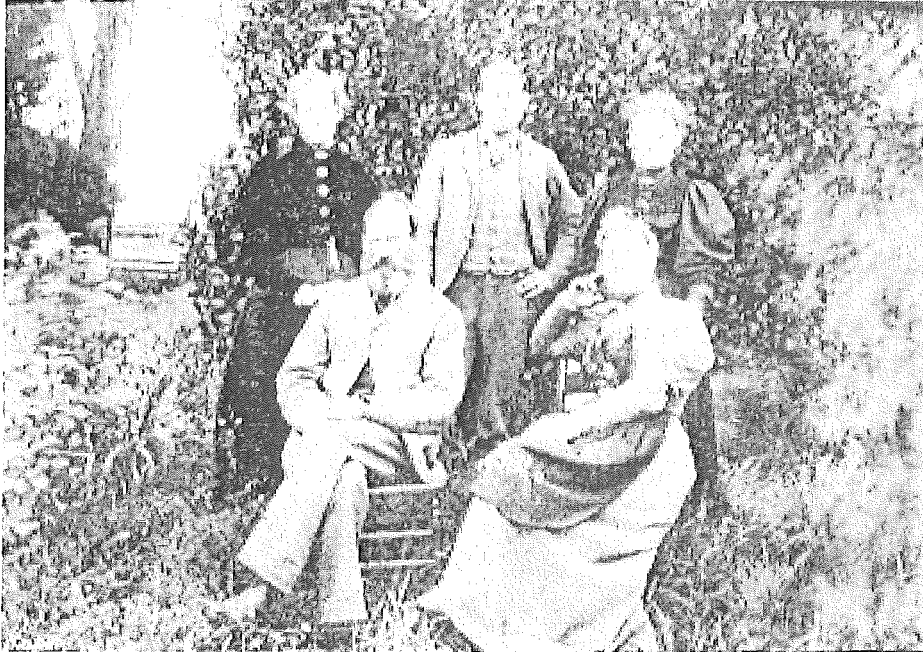


Figure 6 - Adam Irvine and Family

Source: *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol. 3 (Canterbury), Cyclopedia Company Ltd., Christchurch, 1903: 883

Adam was born in Scotland, in 1833. After being brought up to sheep farming in the Highlands, he emigrated to Australia in 1853 along with his father, three brothers, and three sisters. The following year they continued on to New Zealand under contract to Cracroft Wilson. The men and boys were to be employed as shepherds and stockmen and at least one of the daughters would be on the household staff. Although it is not clear whether this deal was finalised in Australia, or before they left Scotland, by the time they arrived in New Zealand most of the family were assured employment.

After shepherding at Cracroft and Cashmere for six years, Adam moved to Scotsburn, in South Canterbury, and started as head shepherd at Mt. Peel Station. Again, most of the family shifted as a unit and lived and worked in the same area. Adam's father, William, was overseer at Mt. Peel for a short time in 1861, and over the next forty years at least six other relations of Adam (including two of his own sons) were employed at Mt. Peel.

By early 1862 Adam had already shown signs of upward occupational mobility. He took over the position of overseer at Mt. Peel, and at the end of the following year

married Clarissa Smith, the daughter of an early settler. Over the next twenty or so years Adam and Clarissa had at least seven children, five of whom lived into adulthood. Adam and Clarissa, and most of the members of their extended family, stayed in the area for the rest of their lives, with Adam continuing as Mt. Peel overseer until 1873.

While working, Adam slowly accumulated freehold land. In 1863 he owned a 20 acre section in Peel Forest, and by 1865 this had increased to 85 acres. Over the next fifteen years the amount grew until by 1880 he had a total of 332 freehold acres, worth over £1900, and had become a farmer in his own right. Over these years Adam concentrated on sheep farming, building up a modest flock that fluctuated around 200 to 800 sheep.

When he died in 1901, Adam's estate was valued at just over £1200, a large proportion consisting of land. The estate was split between his sons, all of whom had continued in his footsteps, becoming labourers, shepherds, and farmers. Each was left a piece of land with the stipulation that Clarissa, Adam's widow, was looked after. Not only did Adam support his family during his lifetime, he also ensured that they would have something when he was gone.³

³ Adam's biography was pieced together from the following sources: [145] CAHY, Department of Justice District & High Court, Timaru, TU 590/1901, IRVINE, Adam, Farmer, Ashfield, Geraldine and TU 258/1912, IRVINE, Clarissa Emma, Widow, Geraldine (Probate files); [246] CAHX, Department of Justice, High Court, Christchurch, /293 MARRIAGE NOTICE BOOK TIMARU 1859-1868; [CH-290] 48A - Retrospective Nominal Index to Purchasers of Rural Sections [c.1851-1870s]; [FHC # 652] - Canterbury Death Duty Register 1867-1914 (South Canterbury Extracts); [MB44 N8 a] - Church of the Holy Innocents Register 1864-1987; [MB44 N8 b] - Church of the Holy Innocents Register 1869-1994; Death Certificate # 2429, 1901, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington; Nancy McLaughlin, and Denis Hampton, *Canterbury Death Duty Index 1867-1914 [Microform]*, New Zealand Society of Genealogists, Auckland, C.1989; Electoral Rolls For Geraldine, Gladstone, Rangitata, Waitangi, 1865-1900; *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand, 1882; Province of Canterbury, New Zealand: List of Sections Purchased To April 30, 1863; the Annual Sheep Returns, Appendix To the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand ; H.23*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1878-1901; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*, Wise, Auckland; Alexander Turnbull Library, *Alexander Turnbull Library Biographies Index [Microform]*; Canterbury Public Library Family History Card Index; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol. 3 (Canterbury), Cyclopedia Company Ltd., Christchurch, 1903: 883; G. R. Macdonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum; Paul (R.P.J.) McNicholl Card File, South Canterbury Museum; A. Hewson, *Early Days in the Ashburton County*, Ashburton Museum and Historical Society, Ashburton, 1996 [Originally a series in the *Ashburton Guardian*, 1918]: 17; Eulla Williamson, *Hearts, Hands and Voices*, Timaru Herald Co., Timaru, 1978: 20, 21, 102; G. W. Harte, *Mt. Peel is a Hundred*, Herald Printing Works, Timaru, 1956: 64, 81; Grace Smith, 'The Irvine Story: Facts and Fancies as at August 1977', *Family Tree*, 9(2), 1977: 2-13; Johannes C. Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, 1916: 140; M. B. Wilkinson, *South Canterbury's Early Settlers and Immigrants*, South Canterbury Historical Society, Timaru, 1990: Appendix 1; Peel Forest Timeline - <<http://www.freespeech.org/peelforest/timeline.htm>> [accessed 12/8/1999].

Although Adam Irvine was never extremely wealthy,⁴ he was definitely upwardly mobile – both in land-holding terms and occupationally. He steadily rose throughout his life from a position where he was reliant on others for a living, to a point where he was self-employed, owning his own land and producing enough to be free from a reliance on wage-labour. It is easy to see that his life was not a tale of rags-to-riches, but instead showed a slow, steady, rise over the years.⁵

James Philp Pithie

Another Scotsman who worked at Mt. Peel was James Philp Pithie. James was born in Arbirlot, Angus, in 1835 and worked at various jobs as he grew up, including being a quarryman.⁶ In his late teens or early twenties James emigrated to Australia where he tried his hand at gold mining, and from there he carried on to New Zealand, shortly before 1860. For the next few years James tried his hand at a variety of rural jobs. He was one of the earliest shearers in the Orari Gorge Shed in 1860, and also dug ditches at Mt. Peel before being employed there in a more general nature for almost three years (until the end of 1865) at £55 per annum and found.

By 1863 James had jointly purchased 40 acres at Alford Forest with another of the Mt. Peel workers, and on 1 April 1865 a note in the Mt. Peel wages' book shows that he took out £16 to purchase another section, this time at Ashburton. Around this time James' brother, Thomas Maxwell Pithie, emigrated to New Zealand, and he too settled in the Peel Forest area.

Over the next twenty or so years James steadily accumulated land, until in 1880 he owned 158 acres of land worth almost £900. In a few more years this had been increased to 228 acres.⁷

⁴ Although he was one of the most successful of the Mt. Peel workers Adam never attained the levels of wealth used as a benchmark by McAloon in his study of the colonial wealthy (over £10,000). McAloon, 'Colonial Wealth'.

⁵ This is demonstrated most clearly by the fact that Adam was not fully self-employed until he was forty years old.

⁶ He later used this skill to help build Samuel Butler's stone hut at Mesopotamia. This hut was thatched by another Mt. Peel worker, Archie McPhee.

⁷ One surprising aspect of James' life is that he does not appear in Electoral Rolls until the late 1880s. Although he was well over the eligible age and, according to the Freeholders' Return, his land was worth much more than the £50 required for electoral registration, it seems that he simply did not bother registering.

By the 1870s James was settled at Scotsburn with his new wife, Martha Wise. Unlike Adam Irvine who was never directly involved in public affairs, James seems to have striven to be part of the community. He was one of the managers of the Scotsburn domain in the mid 1870s, and was later elected to the Mt. Peel Road Board.

It was not until the 1880s (by which stage he was almost fifty) that James started making regular appearances in most sources. Now firmly established on his land at Peel Forest, and with at least four fairly young children⁸, James seems to have shifted from labouring and settled into self-employed farming. From 1883 onwards his flock fluctuated between 100 and 500 sheep, and his occupation was always listed as a 'Farmer' or 'Sheep Owner.'

When he died in 1916, James left an estate of just under £1300. Although he did not specify exactly how this was to be distributed, he ensured that his wife and all his children were included.⁹

Like Adam, James was never extremely wealthy, but he too was obviously upwardly mobile, both in land-holding terms, and occupationally. Again, it was not a tale of rags-to-riches but a slow journey through a variety of rural jobs to a modest level on the ladder of success, ending with James farming on his own account.

Edwin Richard Turton

Our next labourer was born in New Zealand in 1860. Shortly after his birth, Edwin Turton's parents, William and Frances, shifted from Kaiapoi to what is now Ashburton. There they set up one of the earliest accommodation houses in the area.¹⁰

⁸ James and Martha eventually had eight children.

⁹ James's biography was built up from the following sources: [CH-290] 48A - Retrospective Nominal Index to Purchasers of Rural Sections [c.1851-1870s]; [507] CAIG, Valuation Department Christchurch Regional Office, 4/78 - VOL 2 - GERALDINE BOROUGH - 1906-12 [Note on cover says Roll Period Commencing 1 Apr 1912, cancelled 31 Mar 1922]; [290] CAAR, Department of Lands and Survey Christchurch District Office, 42/37 - Grants for Rural Sections 5287 and 5288, Ashburton District; Death Certificate # 1499, 1916; [145] CAHY, Department of Justice District & High Court, Timaru, TU 858/1916, PITHIE, James Philp, Retired Farmer, Arundel (Probate); *Timaru Herald*, 1 Jun 1916; *A Return of the Freeholders*; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*; *Annual sheep returns* 1883-1905; G. R. Macdonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum; Hewson, *Early Days in the Ashburton County*: 5, 17; Williamson, *Hearts, Hands and Voices*: 21; Barbara Harper, *The Kettle on the Fuschia: The Story of Orari Gorge*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1967: 40; Ellen Shepherd [Shephard] Tripp, *My Early Days*, [Facsimile] 3rd ed., Kiwi Publishers, Christchurch, 1995: 11-12; Phyllis Kerr, *Tarahaoa: History, Story, and Legend of Peel Forest*, Jane Kerr, Christchurch, 1985; Private email correspondence with Sandra Worthington – contact made through South Canterbury Genweb pages.

¹⁰ Edwin's brother, John George Turton, who also worked at Mt. Peel, was the first 'white child born in Ashburton.' One of John's daughters married a nephew of James Pithie. *Ashburton Guardian*: 11 Oct 1946; *Christchurch Star-Sun*: 16 Oct 1946.

After being educated at Mr. Mayo's private school in Ashburton, Edwin gained extensive work experience on various farms.¹¹ His first job was as a boy on Longbeach, and from there he went to Anama Station as a fleecpicker. Next was Mesopotamia, initially looking after the cows, then mustering. Later still, 'Ted' was employed as a shepherd at Stronechrubie (Erewhon). It is around this time, the early 1880s, that Edwin appeared at Mt. Peel, as a seasonal musterer. His experience was reflected in his pay rate of £2 per week and found, almost twice what general hands were being paid at the time.

Rather than moving directly into farming on his own account, Edwin worked for many years as a manager for the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Company on a large number of farms all over the South Island. In 1898 he was appointed manager of Mount Torlesse, then managed Waikaia Plains (Southland), Birch Hill (Marlborough), Wairuna (Southland) and St Helen's (Hanmer). Similarly, for a time he managed St James and Hakataramea Stations for the Australia and New Zealand Company.

Edwin seems to have been extremely active in the community. He was a foundation member of the Amuri and Waikari Masonic Lodges and an early member of the Pioneer Oddfellow's Lodge, Staveley, as well as a member of the Amuri A&P Association and a sheep-dog trial judge. Obviously well respected, he was appointed as a Justice of the Peace when he was in Hanmer. Even in later years Edwin did not give up public commitments, and he appears on the Coldstream Road Board in 1921.

Edwin followed a slightly different pattern of land ownership from both Adam Irvine and James Pithie, and he does not seem to have ever tried to make the move into self-employed farming. Initially he did not buy any 'farm' land as such; instead by 1880 he had purchased a town section in Ashburton valued at £145. Later he owned farms at Ealing and Waikari, but he never seems to have completely given up working for others as well. Edwin was still a station manager at Hakataramea in 1934 when he wrote his will, and although he retired in 1936 he died the following year. It is not clear when Edwin married, but he and his wife raised at least four children and, again, each of them was provided for from his large estate of

¹¹ His obituary also claims that he set up the first mail route between Ashburton and Mount Somers around this time. *Christchurch Star-Sun*: 26 Jun 1937.

£7581-15-4.¹² Although he worked until his seventies, the size of Edwin's estate indicates that he was not 'reliant' on wage labour; he could have retired if he wished. Again, like Adam and James, Edwin had had to work hard for his gains and only gradually achieved success.¹³

Pathways to Mobility

Each of these case studies encompasses the main 'pathways to mobility' in rural colonial New Zealand – the lives of these men demonstrate almost every feature or attribute which improved the chances of success. Firstly, there was the case of early arrival. Adam and James both arrived in New Zealand before 1860, and Edwin was born in Kaiapoi in 1860.¹⁴ In his studies on the colonial wealthy in Canterbury and Otago, Jim McAloon repeatedly stresses the importance of early arrival.¹⁵ Toynbee, too, finds better chances for being upwardly mobile, or at least holding one's position, the earlier one arrived.¹⁶ Likewise, in her thesis on wealth and income, Margaret Galt observes that wealth expectations started declining as early as the 1860s.¹⁷ The importance of early arrival has also been seen in the course of the Mt. Peel research, with success being more much likely for those arriving before 1870. It

¹² His will itself was very interesting and ahead of its time, as he specifically requested that the money which he left for his daughters was to be kept by them, free from their husbands' control. This was quite an extraordinary request to make. In many wills a daughter was only provided for until she was married. After this she became the husband's responsibility, and as a result was totally reliant on him.

¹³ Edwin's biographical references: [145] CAHY, Department of Justice District & High Court, Timaru, TU 4463/1937, TURTON, Edwin Richard, Retired Station Manager, Ashburton (Probate); *A Return of the Freeholders*; Electoral Rolls for Ashburton and Rangitata, 1887-1894; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*; *Christchurch Star-Sun*, 26 Jun 1937; G. R. Macdonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum; John Brown, *Ashburton, New Zealand: Its Pioneers and its history, 1853-1939*, A. H. and A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1940: 251-265; W. H. Scotter, *Ashburton: A History With Records of Town and Country*, Ashburton Borough and County Councils, Ashburton, 1972: 59, 409; William Vance, *Bush, Bullocks and Boulders: Story of Upper Ashburton*, the Alford Forest Bushside Springburn District Centenary Committee, Ashburton, 1976: 40; Hewson, *Early Days in the Ashburton County*: 29; A. J. Blakiston, *My Yesteryears*, the Timaru Herald Company Limited, Timaru, 1952: 30.

¹⁴ Unfortunately there were not enough New Zealand-born labourers to find out if this affected mobility chances. Galt found that for most of New Zealand, being New Zealand born had a negative impact on wealth, but when looking at the Canterbury rural sector 'its native [that is, New Zealand] born had a high level of wealth.' Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand': 67.

¹⁵ McAloon, 'Colonial Wealth': 22, and 'The Colonial Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago: No Idle Rich': 43-60.

¹⁶ Toynbee, 'Class and Mobility in Nineteenth Century Wellington Province': 137.

¹⁷ Apart from those who arrived in the 1840s, those who arrived early accumulated the most wealth with arrivals after about 1860-1865 accumulating less. 1850s-1860s arrivals did best and wealth expectations declined after this. Galt, 'Wealth and Income': 75-6.

is also worth noting that those who arrived in the decade 1860-69 seem to have performed even better than those who arrived pre-1860. Of those deemed 'successful',¹⁸ 72.06 per cent arrived (or were born) in New Zealand prior to 1870, with 30.88 per cent arriving before 1860.

Neither of the above writers discusses exactly why early arrival was important, but McAloon's assertion that 'To be the first to take up a given land-holding was to have an enormous advantage', indicates that he sees a link between early arrival and access to land.¹⁹ Similarly, Tom Brooking and Elvin Hatch show that by the 1870s inflated land prices and high commodity prices made freehold land ownership a lot more risky, especially if some kind of stability had not been reached before the depression of the 1880s. In the early years, higher wages due to labour shortages, and the relatively good access to loans and lower land prices (especially outside the Wakefield settlements), made land ownership a lot easier than later on.²⁰

Many historians have, at some stage, echoed Brooking's claim that 'Land provided the major means of acquiring wealth and status' in 19th century New Zealand, or at least mentioned the importance of land ownership to social mobility.²¹ While the implications of owning a fertile and profitable farm are obvious, this was not the only way in which land ownership could facilitate upward social mobility. Even if the land was not specifically used for farming, ownership of even a small piece could diminish the effects of later depressions and market fluctuations, and act as a buffer during times of underemployment or unemployment.

Land was most easily and cheaply available in the early years, the same time that more labour-intensive farming and a smaller population lowered chances of

¹⁸ For the purpose of this thesis, success was taken to mean that an individual owned freehold land, or showed signs of upward occupational mobility, or left an estate of more than £200.

¹⁹ McAloon, 'The Colonial Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago': 59.

²⁰ Brooking, *Lands for the People?*: 80; Hatch, *Respectable Lives*: 19. The higher wages in the early years are noted by Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 17, and Tennant, *Paupers and Providers*: 183,

²¹ Brooking, *Lands for the People*: 80. See also, Paul M. Meuli, 'Occupational Change and Bourgeois Proliferation: A Study of New Middle Class Expansion in New Zealand 1896-1926', M.A. thesis, Victoria University, 1977: 128-129; Toynbee, 'Class and Mobility': 114; Galt, 'Wealth and Income': 92, 146, 177 (she also shows that the capital increase which could be gained through land ownership generally made farmers a lot wealthier than their incomes would indicate); Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*: 2.

unemployment. It is easy to see why early arrival could have such an effect on upward social mobility.²²

Another obvious aid to mobility seems to have been family support, or some other kind of strong social network. In almost every case those workers, such as the Irvines, who emigrated with members of their family experienced upward mobility. Similarly, those who remained in an area for a long time, and involved themselves with the community, whether they were alone on arrival in New Zealand or not, were more likely to succeed than those who were transient. While these two situations, geographical stability and the existence of social networks, are not synonymous, they are related. In most cases, geographical stability led to increased social ties. Likewise, extensive geographical mobility decreased the chances of forming effective bonds.²³

The majority of social mobility studies worldwide have found an inverse relationship between geographical and social mobility, especially in terms of property ownership.²⁴ While it is generally accepted that this relationship exists, not much has been said about why it exists. Historians have discussed why property ownership would make an individual, or family, more likely to persist in an area, but the issue of how the resultant stability could help social mobility has largely been ignored. This is where the link between social networks and the accumulation of property or wealth becomes important: it was the family and social networks (strengthened through persistence) which helped upward mobility and the resulting wealth, rather than the persistence itself.

²² The Irvine family were especially advantaged by having guaranteed employment on arrival in New Zealand.

²³ It is important to note that geographical mobility (that is, transience) did not **preclude** the forming of social ties, or necessarily destroy existing ones, but for the majority of labourers it does seem to have reduced the usefulness of any bonds, and therefore the effectiveness of social networks as a mechanism of upward mobility – especially if the distances covered were large.

²⁴ See, for instance, Curti, *The Making of an American Community*: 176-221; Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*: 98, 107, 118; Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*: 31, 85, 118; Goldstein, *Patterns of Mobility 1910-1950 the Norristown Study*: 53-54, 234; Fairburn, *Ideal Society*: 129-30. The cause and effect problem created by this relationship has already been discussed in Chapter 1.

The effect that geographical mobility can have on social structures results in two distinct types of geographical mobility: frequent short-range movement, primarily based on hardship, which usually disrupted the formation of networks and therefore reduced the chances of upward social mobility ('transience' or subsistence migration), or the movement from settled base to another settled base which allowed transplantation of networks, or at least enabled the building up of new ones, and did not necessarily affect upward mobility chances (career migration).²⁵

Not only does the link between geographical mobility, social networks and social mobility explain why, in most cases, geographical and social mobility have an inverse relationship, but it also explains why those who, despite shifting around, managed to retain their social networks, did significantly better than those who were both transient and bondless.

There is one group for whom this link was especially true: those, like Edwin Turton, who became 'professional' musterers, or managers. Travelling from one station to the next as part of their job did not diminish their social mobility chances at all.²⁶ Some, especially the managers, were employed by entities such as the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Company, or the Australia and New Zealand Company. Others, mainly musterers, seem to have been well-known in farming circles throughout the South Island and they shifted from farm to farm on a seasonal basis, often returning to the same ones for many years in a row. For both of these groups, their ability to move within the structure of the farming community seems to have strengthened rather than weakened their social networks. Similarly, all were married and raised families while shifting, and most had large kinship networks in rural New Zealand. In all cases these men were highly skilled and well paid, and often accumulated land over the years they were shifting around. Not all of them became 'farmers' in their own right, though, which would seem to indicate that it was sometimes more profitable, and perhaps less risky, to be a manager on someone else's farm, than it

²⁵ For an in-depth examination of types of geographical mobility see Peter Clark, and David Souden (eds), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, Hutchinson, London, 1987. W. J. Gardner explores career migration in New Zealand in his work on what he describes as 'lateral mobility.' Gardner, W. J., 'Lateral Mobility in Colonial New Zealand: A Challenge for Future Research', *History Now*, 6(2), 2000: 19-24.

²⁶ Estate values are known for thirty of the Mt. Peel workers. Out of the largest five estates, three were from men who had shifted into this role of specialist musterer or manager. All three of these men were frequently geographically mobile, but they still retained their kinship and social links. It is clear that lateral mobility did not affect their mobility chances.

was to purchase your own – perhaps a situation similar to consultants today?²⁷ Nevertheless, the success of these men was uncharacteristic. For the majority of labourers, geographical mobility weakened networks and therefore diminished the chances for success.

It is clear that social or family networks offered the colonial labourer various advantages, the most obvious of which was access to cheap or free labour. If members of a family worked on their own plot of land, or if neighbours helped each other out during busy times of the year, costs could be minimised.²⁸ Even if a family's land-holdings were too small to support them through farming, a vegetable garden and the raising of a few sheep, cattle or hens, could all minimise the food bill or be traded with neighbours.

In the event of the family's labour not being required on their own land (for instance, if it was too small to farm) their employment elsewhere could be utilised to supplement the family's income. Either the parents and older children could all work separately, each contributing to the household purse, or the whole family could be employed as a unit.²⁹ This situation is illustrated well by the McLeod family. Both Alexander McLeod, one of the shepherds at Mt. Peel, and his wife, Mary, were employed as a couple. From 1873 until at least 1893 they were paid £90-£110 p.a. (usually with a £10 bonus each year as well.) Their son, John, started doing various jobs for Acland at the age of fifteen for £20 p.a., and eventually followed his father's footsteps into shepherding. What is most interesting, though, is that up until 1877 (when he turned nineteen) all of John's pay went directly to his father. John's 'first'

²⁷ The size of Edwin Turton's estate supports the concept that a well-paid manager could do better than a lot of farmers. Although it was still not large enough to admit him to the ranks of McAloon's 'colonial wealthy,' Edwin's estate was the largest recorded by any of the traceable Mt. Peel workers.

²⁸ According to Jim McAloon, the Geraldine, Temuka, and Ashburton areas (those areas surrounding Mt. Peel) were particularly good for this type of family farming. While family input would have been useful anywhere, the fertile land of this area must have increased the possible returns. McAloon, 'Colonial Wealth': 81-2.

²⁹ [MB44 F3 i] – Wages' Book 1857-88; [MB44 F3 ii] – Wages' Book 1865-84; [MB44 F3 iii] – Wages' Book 1873-77; [MB44 F3 iv] – Wages' Book 1877-92 (Entries for Alexander and Johnny McLeod).

Similarly, William Chapman, a gardener, his wife and two sons were employed as a unit for £105 p.a. until 1860. Jim Chapman, one of the sons, returned periodically as a seasonal worker after this. [MB44 F3 i] – Wages' Book 1857-88; [MB44 F3 ii] – Wages' Book 1865-84; [MB44 F3 iii] – Wages' Book 1873-77 (Entries for Wm. and Jim Chapman).

pay of his own coincided with his first purchase from the station store; he seems to have celebrated by splashing out 10/- on a watch.

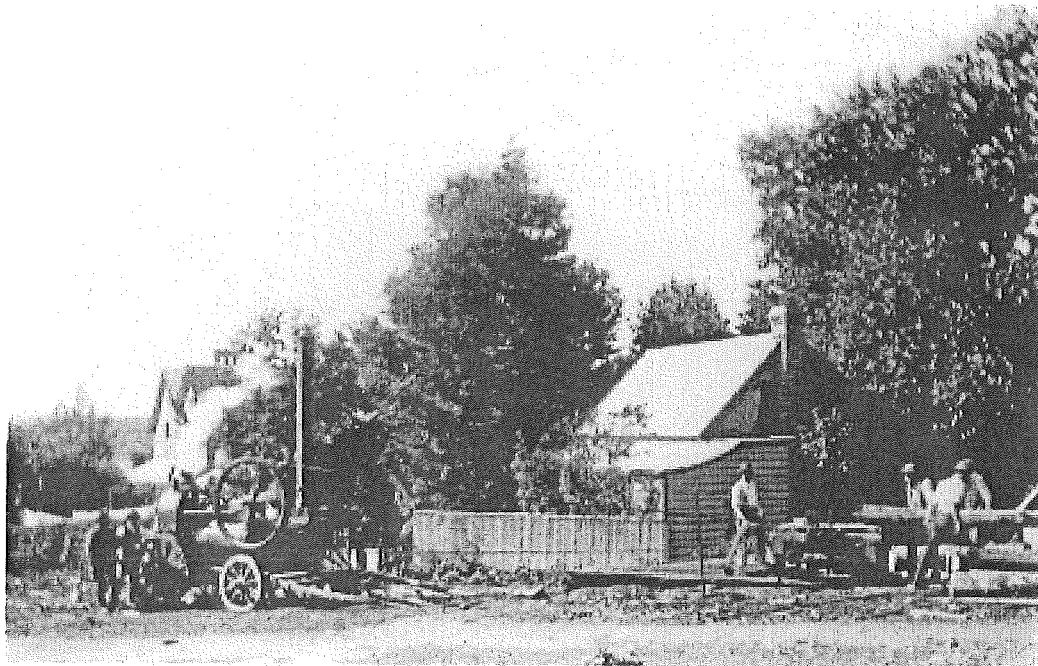


Figure 7 - Johnny McLeod's House at Mt. Peel.

Source: 'Mt Peel Station view from behind the main house; left: traction engine; right Johnie's [sic] House,' Acland Collection, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury.

Similarly, family and friends were able to lend money to help others out. In many probates, loans to sons were mentioned, and in one bankruptcy hearing the father had lent money to purchase a business.³⁰ Even in the Mt. Peel wages' books, which were set out like bank ledgers, there are enough instances of money being lent, both between the boss and worker, and between workers themselves, to indicate that money was frequently lent or transferred between acquaintances. Money or wages owed were listed on one side, and debts and expenses were tabulated on the other. An earlier study carried out on one of the wages' books highlights some of the transactions which took place:

John Rodgers' account was typical, with cash paid to A. McLeod (6/-) and G. Filshie (1/6). In the case of J. Thatcher, the contract cook, money given to him seems to have been the men paying for food, rather than being borrowed, but this is unusual. In most cases no note was made of what the money was for and

³⁰ [214] CAMO, Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch, BOX 120 3 POTTER, FRANK 1914 [Bankruptcy File].

the only exception was money paid from Hugh McKay, a shepherd, to A. Irvine, the station manager when McKay bought Irvine's dog. The amount of money transferred in quite astonishing and in some cases was equal to many weeks' work. For instance, over the space of a year, Wm. Smith, the gardener, paid out £12-7-6 to J. Noonan, and gained a total of £26-7-12 from 6 others. This was a huge sum when compared to his wage of £60 *per annum*, but unfortunately there is no indication as to what the money was for. In another case Alfred Coker, another gardener, has the following money transferred to him all in one day: 'Mr Hill 5/-, McDonald 5/-, Jones 5/-, Munroe 10/-, Thatcher 30/-, Briscoe 5/-, Ferguson 5/-, Finlayson 5/-, D. Munroe 5/-.' Again, no reason was given, but in this case the most likely explanation would appear to be that Coker had placed a few good bets with his workmates!³¹

Overall, the whole social and family network must be seen in terms of economic partnership, rather than focusing on just the individual. This partnership is especially true of that between a husband and wife. Davidoff and Hall note the 'cultural and monetary capital' contributed by English middle class women, a situation which seems to have been mirrored across most classes in New Zealand.³² Various studies have explored the benefit of marriage in colonial New Zealand and all echo the findings of Charlotte Macdonald that

Marriage had a number of immediate tangible benefits for men in New Zealand. As well as providing companionship...a wife could look after the necessary daily tasks of preparing meals, keeping a house clean and in order, as well as washing and mending clothes. Without wives, single men had to look at these things themselves, or employ someone to do for them.³³

As well as easing the day-to-day living of men, women (and any children) also provided labour, whether inside the home looking after their family and any workers, outside helping with the family farm or elsewhere in paid service. Furthermore, marriage could provide the expertise of all the in-laws, widen contacts and increase

³¹ Eleanor Cottle, 'Rural Labour in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand: An Analysis of the Mt. Peel Wages' Book, 1873-1877, and a Discussion of any Implications for the Available Literature', HIST 430 Essay, Canterbury University, Christchurch, 1998: 10-11. Similarly, two of the labourers had substantial sums of money (one had £100 @ 5% p.a.) invested with Acland while they were working at Mt. Peel. This, however, seems the extent of Acland's involvement with his workers' financial affairs. There is no evidence of the personal connections or financial patronage mentioned by McAloon. [MB44 F3 ii] – Wages' Book 1865-84 (Entries for Peter Keith and George Filshie); McAloon, 'Colonial Wealth': 47.

³² Leonore Davidoff, and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, Hutchison, London, 1987: 282.

³³ Charlotte Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth-century New Zealand*, Allen & Unwin and Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990: 141. For short articles on women's roles see Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant (eds), *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, Allen & Unwin, Wellington, 1986, especially Raewyn Dalziel's contribution, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand'.

resources.³⁴ Thus spouses, children and any members of the extended family can all be seen as a 'hidden investment' or economic capital.³⁵ From this, it should be possible to argue that marriage increased the chances of success. The evidence, however, raises some problems. It is clear that almost all of those who were successful were married, but so too were most of those who failed.

While there were definitely positive sides to marriage, it also introduced the requirement to support one's spouse and children financially, thus multiplying the effects of labour market fluctuations. Often, it seems, this responsibility became too much. The *Police Gazettes* had a specific section devoted to deserted families, a section which was rarely empty. In January 1893, one of the former Mt. Peel workers appeared:

'MASTERTON. - Thomas Adian Lyons is charged on warrant with having deserted his wife, Mary, since the 9th October, 1890. Description: A native of New South Wales, about thirty-eight years of age, 6ft. ½in. high, square build, blue or grey eyes, dark hair turning grey, small dark whiskers and moustache only, long thin nose, chin turning upwards, big feet and turns his toes slightly inwards when walking, has a scar on forehead which may be covered with his hair; has been employed on stations, but may now be a commercial traveller. He is said to have been seen at Sydney during February last, but subsequent inquiries have failed to trace him.'³⁶

(Information from descendants of his family indicates that Thomas' family never managed to locate him.³⁷)

Although marriage could provide benefits in colonial society, it could be a risky affair when entered into without some kind of financial stability. It seems that marriage could be significant for upward mobility, but that its worth was only fully realised when it increased social ties and encouraged geographical permanence, and was entered into with a stable base.

The main problem arising from the discussion on marriage and its effect on social mobility is that of cause and effect. Was it that marriage helped mobility, or was it

³⁴ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*: 221, 257, 283-5. Davidoff and Hall primarily look at an urban context with the economic input of women and children into middle class family businesses, but many of these aspects are just as relevant in a rural context. While they also mention some tasks (such as harvesting, or baking and brewing for seasonal workers) which were specific to women in landowning farming families, the women and children of labourers were also seen to be earning their own keep.

³⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

³⁶ The *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 1893, Vol. XVII, Samuel Costall, Government Printer, Wellington, 1893: 13 [25 January 1893].

³⁷ Mary Brady <m.brady@adelphia.net>.

that those who demonstrated social mobility were those who were most likely to attract wives? Unfortunately, this is very difficult to prove either way. However, taking land ownership as one of the most visible signs of social mobility, and by looking at the relationship between age at marriage and the age when first seen in possession of freehold land, one trend is very clear.³⁸ For the majority of labourers, marriage occurred well before land ownership. Of the 35 men for whom both land ownership and marriage dates were known, 19 (54.29 per cent) married before they owned land. This theory is corroborated by the respective averages of marriage age and land ownership age. The mean age for first marriage of the traceable labourers was 29.96, while the mean age for land ownership was 34.08. Not only did the mean ages show this trend, but so too did the medians and modes. Both these sets of figures show that for the majority of labourers, marriage occurred well before one of the most visible signs of social mobility. This evidence counters the view that those who demonstrated social mobility were more likely attract wives, and instead supports the argument that social mobility was facilitated by marriage.

As the case studies above showed, some of the more successful settlers did own land before they married. It was, therefore, necessary to see if the most successful of the labourers followed this trend, or whether they acted differently from the 'average' labourer. When looking at only those who died with an estate of over £1000, the average marriage and land-holding ages were opposite to the trend for all the men. In this group, the majority were already freeholders when they married, with only 36.36 per cent purchasing afterwards. The mean age for land ownership was 31.83, over a year before the mean age for first marriage at 33.50. Not only did the most successful group purchase land at an earlier age, but they generally married slightly later as well.³⁹ While these opposing figures do not disprove the earlier conclusion that marriage came before social mobility for the majority of labourers, they do indicate that a stable financial base at marriage could markedly affect success.

³⁸ These figures were from all of the men for whom the relevant dates were known. Only first marriage dates were used, as the use of second marriages would have biased the results, and changed the nature of the question. The date of land ownership was worked out from the first appearance in any official land holding source.

³⁹ Pickens also found that his upwardly mobile men tended to marry slightly later. Pickens, 'Occupational Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century British Colony': 409.

The next aid to mobility demonstrated in all three case studies was experience in rural employment (or signs of occupational versatility).⁴⁰ This seems to have provided a considerable advantage. The majority of those who were traced in this study, and who succeeded, were either from a farming background, were versatile enough to put their hand to anything, or had skill in some other trade which was in demand.⁴¹ Of the 68 'successful' cases, 58.82 per cent had previous experience of a rural nature, or in a desired trade. Similarly, 80 per cent of the workers with previous rural or relevant trade experience were successful. Obviously experience of this sort was beneficial in the colonial environment, a point recognised by the colonists themselves. Agriculturists, ploughmen, shepherds, teamsters and farm labourers were practically 'guaranteed' immediate employment and high wages according to many of the guides for intending immigrants, as were those who held other useful skills.⁴² Some historians have shown that farming knowledge and skills were, indeed, advantageous, especially when the experience was gained through growing up on a farm. Both Galt and Pickens found that having a father who was a farmer increased the chances for wealth acquisition, and Arnold points out that for many of the 'local worthies' in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, their pre-emigration career information included being 'brought up to farming' or being 'engaged in farming pursuits.'⁴³ Growing up on a farm would have provided not just farming knowledge and skills, but also increased awareness of the business side which labourers would not necessarily see. All these skills would have been of use in colonial New Zealand, not only enhancing employment prospects, but also making the move into self-employed farming much less risky.

⁴⁰ In the case studies Adam had extensive farming experience, and both James and Edwin worked at a variety of rural jobs including gold panning, fleece picking, stonemasonry, shearing, mustering, and purportedly on a mail run.

⁴¹ For this section, non-farm occupations which were considered 'desirable' included carpenters, blacksmiths, stonemasons, bricklayers and gardeners. Those who arrived in New Zealand listed only as 'labourer' (as opposed to farm or agricultural labourer) were not included unless there was any other evidence to suggest that they had rural experience. Although there is every likelihood that they were actually farm labourers with the appropriate skills (see Galt, 'Wealth and Income': 86) there was no guarantee. This situation occurred for only about five men. The numbers cited are further underrated as when there was no information on previous employment it was assumed that it was not rural-based, or in a desired trade. It is clear that many of the men thus excluded would have actually had relevant experience.

⁴² For instance see Buller, *New Zealand: Past and Present*: 141-142.

⁴³ Galt, 'Wealth and Income': 49; Pickens, 'Occupational Mobility': 408; Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*: 338.

These three ‘pathways to mobility’ – early arrival, kinship or social networks, and farming experience – featured in every one of the case studies above. It is also important to see how significant each was for a larger number of labourers. The lives of all 68 ‘successful’ traceable labourers were analysed to try to find out how many showed each of these characteristics.⁴⁴

Table 2 – Successful Labourers, Family or Social Ties, Farming Background etc

	Successful Labourers	Family or Social ties	Farming Background or Relevant Skills	Pre 1870 Arrival
Number	68	33	40	49
Percentage (of Successes)	100.00%	48.53%	58.82%	72.06%

From Table 2 it is apparent that for the majority of labourers who succeeded, every one of these factors was important.⁴⁵ This becomes even clearer if we look at the number of successful labourers who demonstrated ‘at least one’ of the features (Figure 8).

Even if the criteria are tightened to make ‘early arrival’ include only those who arrived in New Zealand before 1860, the majority of the ‘successes’ still show at least one pathway (Figure 9).

⁴⁴ As we are looking at various hallmarks of success, we are focussing only on those labourers for whom there was evidence of some kind of upward mobility.

⁴⁵ It must be noted that each of these characteristics was only noted when there was evidence of them. If not much was known about the person’s life this resulted in a label of ‘no pathways.’ As a result, the figures given should be taken as highly underrated minimum values.

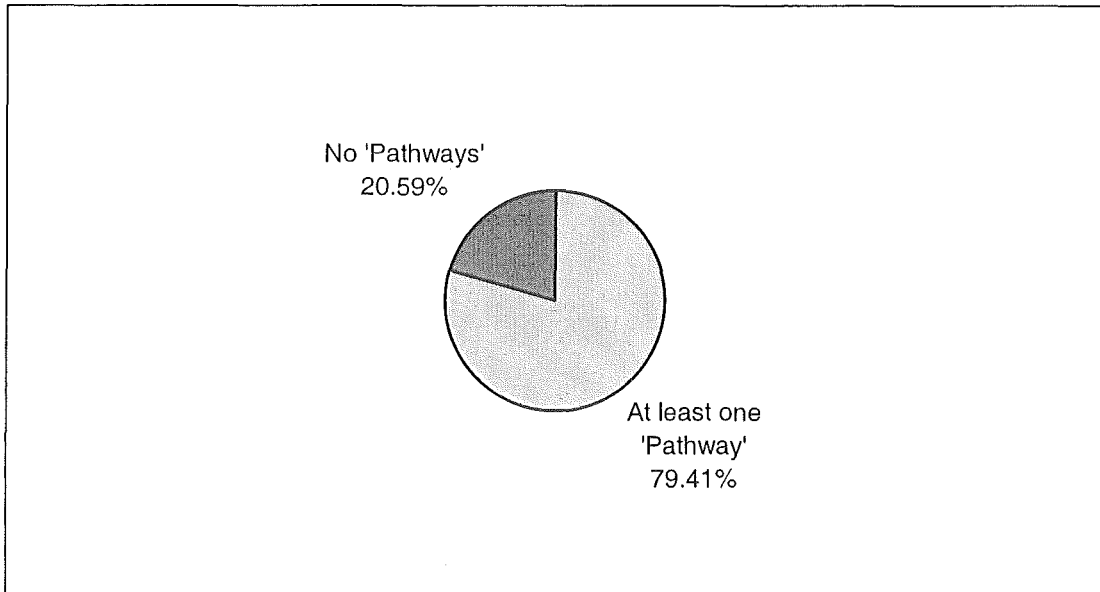


Figure 8 - Percentage of 'Successes' who showed at least one 'Pathway to Mobility'
(Where early arrival is pre 1870)

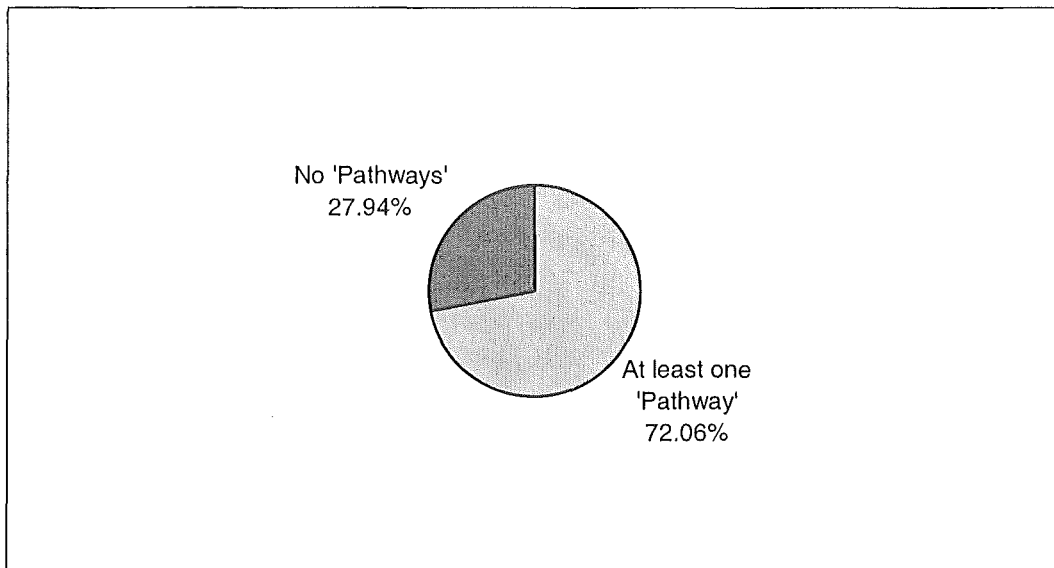


Figure 9 - Percentage of 'Successes' who showed at least one 'Pathway to Mobility'
(Where early arrival is pre 1860)

As this thesis specifically looks at the agricultural ladder, and measures success primarily in terms of land ownership and the process of becoming free from the reliance on wage labour, those who become farmers in their own right are fundamentally significant. It is important to realise, though, that not all of the Mt. Peel labourers attempted to climb this agricultural ladder. These men were a minority. Interestingly, the majority of the men who had been employed at Mt. Peel, and who subsequently did not try to move into farming themselves, had not been employed in purely 'farming' positions, but in specialist areas in which they continued. These included carpenters, brick makers, blacksmiths, and gardeners.

William Walter Smith

One of the men who did not follow the farming pathway was William Walter Smith. The gardener at Mt. Peel from 1876 until 1880, Smith led a remarkable life after leaving there. Although ultimately not successful in monetary terms, neither can he be seen as a failure. While working at various gardens and parks Smith accumulated an extraordinary knowledge of New Zealand's flora and fauna. Throughout his life, he built up and maintained his position as an expert in New Zealand natural history. He had several species named after him, published numerous articles on natural history, and was the first person to breed kiwi in captivity. Although not wealthy when he died, having been forced to apply for the old-age pension over a decade before, William Smith had gathered a wealth of knowledge and the respect of national and international scholars.⁴⁶

Martin Birmingham

Another successful man who eschewed the agricultural ladder was Martin Birmingham. A carpenter by trade, Birmingham had lived in Australia before shifting to New Zealand. He came across from Tasmania around 1849 as one of a group of fifteen carpenters who were under contract to the New Zealand Company for one year. While guaranteed wages of seven shillings per working day, the carpenters were required to supply their own tools, repay their £7 passage at the rate

⁴⁶ [MB44 I6] - History of Mt Peel Station: 82-3; Electoral Rolls for Ashburton, Rangitata and Gladstone, 1880-1905; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*; Alexander Turnbull Library, *Alexander Turnbull Library Biographies Index [Microform]*; G. R. Macdonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum; Brown, *Ashburton*: 708; Scotter, *Ashburton*: 127-8, 339; Harte, *Mt. Peel is a Hundred*: 63.

of 'not less than 5s per week' and could be required to shift elsewhere in New Zealand if their services were required. By 1851 Martin had purchased a quarter acre town section in Christchurch for £25. This was to be the first of many Christchurch sections which he owned. By 1853 Martin had increased his holdings to the value of at least £50 and was still working as a carpenter. It was shortly after this, in 1857, that he appeared at Mt. Peel where he was employed as a carpenter for 37 weeks. It is likely that Martin had married shortly before he arrived at Mt. Peel, as one of the first things he did was to write a will, witnessed by Acland, mentioning both his wife and daughter. It is not clear where Martin went after Mt. Peel, as his next appearances in any source were related to his death from asphyxia in 1864, aged 36. It is likely that Martin's death was sudden and unexpected: he was taken to Christchurch Hospital after falling ill at a hotel, and a search had to be undertaken to find his will. As his estate's holdings of £580 of town land was still listed in the Freeholders' Return in 1882, it seems that administration of his estate was not straightforward either. This was probably because Birmingham's rapid accrual of property meant that his holdings at death bore little resemblance to those outlined in his seven-year old will. Despite only about fifteen years of work in New Zealand, he still accumulated a sizeable estate – almost £40 for each year. As well as his early arrival, being skilled in a highly sought-after trade proved beneficial to Birmingham.⁴⁷

Smith, Birmingham and others who chose non-farming careers were a very small minority in this thesis. Because of this it has not been possible to isolate precisely the features which were most beneficial outside of the agricultural arena. It does seem that early arrival and the presence of social and kinship networks were still important for this group, although perhaps less so than for those who followed a farming pathway. Again, previous experience in specialist areas seems to have been beneficial. What is clear, though, is that these non-farming career paths were not as

⁴⁷ [CH 290], CAAR, Department of Lands and Survey Christchurch District Office, 3/4 BUNDLE B 212, BIRMINGHAM, Martin, ('Canterbury Settlement. Land-order. Town Allotment'); [CH 290], CAAR, Department of Lands and Survey Christchurch District Office, 6/9 1670, AGREEMENT 10.11.1849, BIRMINGHAM, Martin, ('Agreement with Carpenters for the New Zealand Coy'); Death Certificate # 253, 1864, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington; [171] CAHX, Department of Justice High Court, Christchurch, CH A208/1864, BIRMINGHAM, Martin, Christchurch, Carpenter (Probate file); Electoral Rolls for Christchurch, 1853, 1854; Alexander Turnbull Library, *Alexander Turnbull Library Biographies Index [Microform]*; *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand, 1882*.

profitable as rural employment. Of the fifteen men who accrued estates over the value of £1000, only two had not followed farming related pathways; both of these men were gardeners.

All of the upwardly mobile case studies in this chapter reiterate the findings of other historians; early arrival, social networks, and a mastery or knowledge of ‘useful’ skills were all important to colonial success. While they were not indispensable, at least one of these features was shown by the majority of those who succeeded. None of the Mt. Peel workers showed rags-to-riches mobility and most mobility was relatively short-range. Self-employment and a fairly comfortable life were common, but movement into the ranks of the colonial wealthy would have been exceptional. For the nineteenth-century rural worker, New Zealand did provide the opportunity to shift from the uncertainties of wage labour into a more stable existence, but it was a slow, gradual process occurring only after years of hard work and perseverance.

Chapter 5 – Qualitative – Downwardly Mobile Case Studies

The previous chapter examined the most common routes to upward social mobility and the various mechanisms involved. In contrast, this chapter investigates downward mobility. Just as success was clearly influenced by certain factors, so too was failure. After studying the lives of those labourers who were obviously not successful, certain patterns emerged: each man was missing what could be termed the 'foundations of mobility' – pathways which had to be followed and without which success was virtually impossible. These were the three Victorian favourites of sobriety, thrift and industry. The importance of these were stated and restated in almost every account of colonial life, whether from the point of view of emigration agents or the colonists themselves.¹ In order for any colonist to contemplate a financially successful life in New Zealand, or even just to ensure a decent standard of living, he needed to possess all of these qualities – at least for a large proportion of the time. Unfortunately for historians, these personal qualities are impossible to test for specifically, and therefore remain largely invisible. However, in many cases where an individual showed a serious deficiency in any of these areas there was some evidence pointing to it.

The most frequent of these shortcomings, and probably the most publicly visible, was a lack of sobriety. Farm labourers were known for excessive drinking, and 'bursting' their paychecks, and in most cases this seems to have been considered accepted behaviour, but some labourers overindulged so frequently that it became clear that they jeopardised their prospects. In these instances, no matter how early they had arrived in New Zealand, how strong their social networks were or how skilled they were at farming, a lack of sobriety was enough to destroy any vision of the colonial dream.

Our first subject, Abner Clough, provides a perfect example of how devastating the effects of intemperance could be; as Abner also demonstrated all of the attributes

¹ *All About New Zealand: Being a Complete Record of Colonial Life*, Facsim. ed., Kiwi Publishers, Christchurch, 1996 [1875]: 9, 11, 14, 76, 135; Julius Vogel (ed.), *The Official Handbook of New Zealand: A Collection of Papers By Experienced Colonists, on the Colony as a Whole, and on the Several Provinces*, Printed for the Government of New Zealand, By Wyman and Sons, London, c.1875: 79, 80-82.

which generally led to colonial success his story is even more telling.

Abner Clough



Figure 10 - Abner Clough

Source: W. H. Oliver (ed.), *A People's History: Illustrated Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One, 1769-1869*, Bridget Williams Books and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1992: 41.

Being born in Akaroa around 1840, Abner can certainly be described as an 'early arrival.' He was brought up on farms, working with his father and brother on James Greenwood's Motanau run and then at Homebush, so he also had extensive farming experience. Abner was engaged at Mt. Peel, at the age of only sixteen, as Tripp and Acland's right-hand man for £50 a year and found. Before long his skill and power became legendary. Various well-known figures including Samuel Butler, Acland, and Edward Chudleigh marvelled openly in their diaries at his leadership, hard-work, and strength. It is clear that he was a valued employee at Mt. Peel, and built up a large circle of friends and acquaintances.

In 1863, Abner married Ellen Regan, an Irish woman working in the Peel Forest area. Why Ellen was working is not clear, as there are several indicators that she came from an affluent background. She was an accomplished horsewoman, could speak French, and up until about 1903 received an annual remittance of £100 from England, more than Abner would normally have earned. From an economic perspective, Abner and Ellen's marriage would also have been a good sign for success.

After over twenty years working at Mt. Peel, Abner and his family shifted to the Chatham Islands to work for E. R. Chudleigh, who had spent a large amount of time with Abner while a cadet at Mt. Peel. It seems that Abner's drinking problem started to make itself most obvious after this shift from his beloved Mt. Peel, and Chudleigh's diary is full of references to his decline.

After Abner had been in the Chathams for only about three years, Chudleigh returned home to find 'Abner and all hands drunk at Waitangi.'² Chudleigh decided that he had had enough, and tried to fire Abner. However, when he returned four days later, Chudleigh was dismayed to find Abner still working, as a volunteer. Shortly afterwards, Abner was employed again. Despite his severe misgivings, Chudleigh never lost his respect for Abner.

Around this time, it seems that Ellen was also getting ready to give up on Abner, claiming that she would 'sue for a separation if he again got drunk.'³ Although the marriage lasted for a few more years, Ellen did eventually leave.

Abner's steady decline is depicted poignantly by Chudleigh, who saw a strong and hard-working man crumbling under an addiction. His diary entry dated 25 August 1904 reads:

S.W. Cold, hail and showers. I took food to old Abner at the drain. Found him working away in the eye of the wind, standing in the water throwing out great heavy sods. He is about 65 and not often sober. A wonderful man that resists all the evils that he piles on his constitution. He is a type of the olden time when men were mighty.⁴

Five years later, the story remained the same and Chudleigh again showed the conflict between his respect of Abner's talents and despair at their waste.

At Pitt I. [Island] I saw old Abner. He stands out alone, an old Norseman tall and hard in body and mind, a wild drinker, his all destroying vice, a splendid worker and at all times worth a host of modern men.⁵

One year later Abner 'died like an old Norse hero with his flag mast high.'⁶

² E. R. Richards (ed.), *Diary of E. R. Chudleigh 1862-1921 Chatham Islands*, Simpson and Williams, Christchurch, 1950: 283-5.

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid: 423.

⁵ Ibid: 446-7.

⁶ Ibid: 450.

Although Abner was bought up to farming, had strong social networks, and can be seen as an early arrival in New Zealand, his lack of sobriety robbed him of any chances of lasting social mobility.⁷

Frank Potter

Another Mt. Peel labourer who failed to succeed through a lack of one of the fundamentals was Frank Potter. Although he was not an early arrival, this man was geographically stable enough to have built up social networks, and was trained in his specific field from a young age. After moving into self-employment, however, Frank was bankrupted. What seems to have contributed most to his downfall was a lack of thrift or prudence.

Frank Potter was employed as a groom at Mt. Peel from 1889 until 1893. Although no birth date has been found for him, his wage of 14/- to 15/- per week suggests that he was in his early to mid-teens. Over the years, Frank continued working with horses and by 1900 had become an apprentice saddler in Ashburton. In 1905 he bought out his former employer, with money borrowed from his father, and the rest in bills paid over the following eighteen months. Frank made a profit from the business until 1911 when he claims to have encountered a series of problems. In a short time he lost £80 through bad debts, and had to pay over £200 in operations and health care for what he describes as ‘a great deal of sickness’ in his family. In his bankruptcy file Frank claims that not only did ill health affect his business, but also the lack of income meant that he could not meet his trade payments, and he ‘lost his discounts.’ By 1914 a drop in turnover meant that Frank was no longer able to meet payments to various creditors, primarily trade-related businesses. He was then forced into bankruptcy.

⁷ [MB44 N8 a] - Church of the Holy Innocents Register 1864-1987; St Mary's Anglican, Timaru Baptismal Register 2 Feb 1860 to 26 Dec 1869; [MB44 N8 b] - Church of the Holy Innocents Register 1869-1994; Death Certificate # 2390, 1910, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington; [CH-290] 48A - Retrospective Nominal Index to Purchasers of Rural Sections [c.1851-1870s]; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*; Alexander Turnbull Library, *Alexander Turnbull Library Biographies Index [Microform]*; G. R. Macdonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum; Vance, *Bush, Bullocks and Boulders*: 251; Richards (ed.), *Diary of E. R. Chudleigh*: 142, 273, 283-5, 308, 313, 322, 423, 446-8, 450; Hewson, *Early Days in the Ashburton County*: 17; Phyllis Kerr, *From the Beginning: Chronicles of a County: Geraldine*, Strathallan County Council, Timaru, 1976: 68; Williamson, *Hearts, Hands and Voices*: 102; Harper, *The Kettle on the Fuschia*: 26-7, 33, 40; Harte, *Mt. Peel is a Hundred*: 47, 60, 64, 68, 69, 80; Blakiston, *My Yesteryears*: 42; Wilkinson, *South Canterbury's Early Settlers and Immigrants*: Appendix 1; Kerr, *Tarahaoa*: 19; Peel Forest Timeline.

Table 3 – Frank Potter – List of Unsecured Creditors

Source: [214] CAMO, Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch, BOX 120 3 POTTER, FRANK 1914 [Bankruptcy File]

"B"							
LIST OF UNSECURED CREDITORS							
No.	Name	Address	Occupation	Amount of debt			
				£	s	d	
1	Brace Windle & Blyth	Dunedin	Saddlers	419	0	0	
2	W. Wiggins Ltd.	Christchurch	Saddlers	133	0	0	
3	Mason Struthers Ltd.	Christchurch	Ironmongers	13	0	0	
4	Triggs & Denton	Christchurch	Saddlers	17	0	0	
5	Hawkes Bay Soap and Tannery Coy	Napier	Manufacturers	24	11	5	
6	Novelties Ltd.	Wellington	Indenters	3	0	0	
7	Patterson & Barr	Dunedin	Ironmongers	3	0	0	
8	T. Bullock	Ashburton	Merchant	24	0	0	
9	Butler Ltd.	Dunedin	Saddlers	24	0	0	
10	W. Smyth	Ashburton	Saddler	33	0	0	
11	Undrill & Coy.	Ashburton	Upholsterers	6	0	0	
12	J. Pollock	Ashburton	Baker	2	0	0	
13	A. Wilkie	Ashburton	Butcher	1	10	0	
14	J. & J. Sutherland	Ashburton	Bakers	4	0	0	
15	C. Baker	Ashburton	Builder	14	17	6	
16	Mitchell & Turner	Ashburton	Drapers	5	0	0	
17	McDonald & Dunlop	Ashburton	Tailors	3	0	0	
18	W. Sparrow	Ashburton	Outfitter	2	8	0	
19	Kerr Bros.	Ashburton	Grocers	3	0	0	
20	H. C. Barrett	Ashburton	Drapers	1	10	0	
21	Buxton & Thomas	Ashburton	Grocers	1	0	0	
22	J. M. Williamson	Ashburton	Contractor	20	0	0	
23	Chapman & Davis	Ashburton	Painters	2	0	0	
24	New Zealand Farmers Co-operative Association Limited	Ashburton	Merchants	6	0	0	
				765	16	11	

On the face of it, the combination of bad debts, sickness, and a drop in turnover can be seen as primarily responsible for Frank's sudden downward mobility. However, after looking at his bankruptcy file this could be questioned. As can be seen from his statement of unsecured creditors (Table 3), there were a large number of small creditors (24), and the total debt was very large (almost £800). The extent of this

debt can be put into perspective when it is known that Frank originally paid £625 to buy the business, and that he still owed £230 to his father's estate.⁸

Frank was correct in maintaining that most of his debts were trade-related, but the large number and small size of many of these debts would seem to indicate that he had been neglecting his finances for some time. Despite his protestations of ill-health and bad debts, it does seem that more careful management of his money, or at least reconsideration of the viability of his business at an earlier stage, could have helped Frank avoid bankruptcy.

Although it is impossible to find a person whose life can be seen as 'typical' for a colonial labourer, the lives outlined in both this and the previous chapter do illustrate some of the most common pathways to upward and downward mobility. What none of these cases has dealt with, though, is perhaps the most common, and the most ignored, determinant of success or failure: accident or luck. Throughout the research for this thesis, it has become increasingly obvious that often the difference between success or failure can be put down to nothing else. This is what Frank Potter tried to argue in his defence; that he was bankrupted by factors beyond his control.

While the majority of social mobility studies have not considered 'luck', it has not gone completely unnoticed. Indeed, in his 1975 study of Hamilton, Canada West, Katz asserted that 'The role of accident, in short, undoubtedly has been underestimated' in social history.⁹ Katz's investigation of the life of Wilson Benson, an Irish labourer who despite the 'requisite properties' of thrift, sobriety, and industry, failed to 'succeed' in his new home, highlighted the role of accident. Katz showed that just a string of bad luck, or minor accidents could deny someone success. Similarly, Fairburn's study of the diaries of William Cox showed a man who, although a thrifty, sober, and industrious individual, could not seem to elevate himself in the world.¹⁰ No one reason for his failings can be seen, just an unfortunate

⁸ [MB44 F1 v] - Station Diary 1893; 24 Aug 1893; [214] CAMO, Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch, BOX 120 3 POTTER, FRANK 1914 [Bankruptcy File]; Electoral Rolls for Geraldine and Ashburton, 1890-1905; Hampton, *Bankruptcies in New Zealand 1881-1940*; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*.

⁹ Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West*: 104.

¹⁰ Miles Fairburn, *Nearly Out of Heart and Hope: The Puzzle of a Colonial Labourer's Diary*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1995.

coincidence of adverse factors, none of which was overly serious. An extended spell of bad health, a few bad debts, or protracted periods of unemployment on their own could usually be weathered, but when they came at once, or were recurring problems, they could bring about a situation where just keeping ahead of the debtors was all that was possible.

It is difficult to say with certainty whether specific successes can be attributed solely to luck, but in a large proportion of failures it seems that nothing else could have been responsible. The most obvious cases where luck denied success were those which involved an early death. At least two of the Mt. Peel labourers died at an early age – one in a work-related accident, and one through illness. Although both of these men arrived in New Zealand before 1870, they had shown very different prospects for success by the time they died.

Charles Hammond

Of the first, Charles Hammond, not much is known. Charles was still engaged in wage-labour (as a bullock-driver at Mt. Peel) when he drowned in the Rakaia in 1864, aged about 37. There is no evidence to suggest that he owned property, or had amassed any great wealth before he died.¹¹ He was also unmarried, and does not seem to have had any kin in New Zealand.¹² Hammond had not experienced any upward occupational or social mobility by the time of his accidental death.

¹¹ If Charles had owned land around the area he should have appeared in either Electoral Rolls, or in the *List of Sections Purchased to April 30, 1863*. His estate was not probated and does not appear in any of the death duty registers which also suggests that he did not own any substantial property – real or otherwise.

¹² No death notice appeared for Charles Hammond, and he does not seem to have been buried in the area. The vagueness of his death certificate also implies that he was kinless or, at least, his family was not aware of his death – his age was estimated, and his occupation was blank. A note in the wages' book shows that his outstanding wages, the value of his possessions and 'money found on Hammond' were paid to his friends. Again, there is no mention of family. A former work-mate, Alexander Hewson, indicated in his reminiscences that Hammond was Australian, but this recollection may be incorrect.

Hammond's death is shrouded in mystery. Apart from a death certificate, the note in the wages' book, a note in Chudleigh's diary and his listing in official drowning statistics, there is no indication that Charles Hammond died. In his reminiscences of working at Mt. Peel, Alexander Hewson seems to remember the event. His recollection is chaotic, though, and he has either remembered incorrectly, or confused two similar episodes. Both Hammond's death certificate and Chudleigh's diary note that Hammond drowned in the Rakaia on 2 May 1864 (at which time Hewson was employed at Mt. Peel); however, Hewson remembers an incident in the Rangitata in 1865. Hammond seems to have been known by Chudleigh as 'Charley,' which is consistent with the wages' book and the name on his

Alick Macpherson

The other man who was felled by an early death had much brighter prospects for social mobility. Although he was only 29 when he succumbed to ‘Leuco-cythemia with Dysentery & Exhaustion’,¹³ Alexander Macpherson had already experienced some upward mobility, and his future looked bright. A son of Captain Aeneas Macintosh Macpherson, Alexander had come to New Zealand with his family in 1861, after twelve years in Australia. Alexander obviously had some farming experience in Australia as he was employed almost immediately as overseer at Mt. Peel, even though he was still less than twenty years old. After his two years as overseer, Alexander disappears from view,¹⁴ reappearing again in 1871 on the Electoral Rolls with a leasehold town section in Temuka. Two years later, in February 1873, Alick (as he was commonly known) married Elizabeth Gosling, the daughter of an early settler. This marriage appears to have been well suited with both partners coming from families with ties to Canterbury elite (Alick’s brother-in-law was W. K. Macdonald of Orari Gorge, and the Goslings had extensive landholdings in both Christchurch and Geraldine). Alexander and Elizabeth undoubtedly had a more pressing reason for marriage, though, as in September 1873, less than seven

death certificate – Charles Henery Hammond – but Hewson calls him H. Hammond. This still fits in with his middle name, and also with the drowning statistics where he is listed twice, once as Charles, and once as Henry. Chudleigh indicates that Hammond drowned while crossing with a dray – Hewson claims that he was on horseback. Most perplexing though, is that Hewson asserts that Hammond did not actually drown, but after spending a night on a spit in the river, was finally rescued ‘none the worse for his ducking.’

Just to add to the muddle, there was also an H. Hammond employed at Mt. Peel from April 1864 until February 1865. Was he also caught out while crossing a river? Was he the Hammond that Hewson remembered? Did Hewson’s memory merge two similar incidents, both involving a man named Hammond, or had his memories become distorted over the intervening half-century? Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell.

The ambiguity surrounding Hammond’s death is not confined to the fallibility of human memory either. Even though his death certificate was signed by the coroner who noted that an inquest was held (with the verdict of death by drowning), no coroner’s report was ever filed. No newspaper mentioned his death, no estate was probated, and he was not filed as ‘intestate.’

¹³ Leuco-cythemia means white (Leuco) cell (cyt) blood (hemia), or white-celled blood. This is almost certain to be leukaemia, as the blood can look white, even to the naked eye. There are various forms of leukaemia, and as Alick was so young at the time, and died very quickly, it is likely to be Acute Lymphoblastic Leukaemia. Private email correspondence with Dr. Paul Smith, Southport UK – contact made through Old Medical Terms Page <<http://www.gpiag-asthma.org/drpsmith/amt1.htm>> [accessed 29/6/2000].

¹⁴ It is possible that Alexander left New Zealand for a few years around this time. When he died in 1873 the newspaper, as well as giving his Temuka address, also noted ‘Late of Inverness, Scotland.’ As he had lived there only until the age of five, it is unlikely that this would have been noted unless he had returned fairly recently.

months after their marriage, Alick junior was born. Two months later Alick senior died, leaving an estate of less than £200 and no freehold property.¹⁵

While these two cases demonstrate the most obvious and severe way that luck could affect success, it could, of course, intrude in a far less critical manner. The next account is not a case of downward mobility, but it does offer an illustration of how luck could direct the path one's life took. (While it is based on anecdotal evidence, and therefore cannot be taken as fact, it is useful for illustration.)

Alexander McLeod

Sandy McLeod was a shepherd and boundary keeper at Mt. Peel for over thirty years. He and his wife, Mary, raised their seven children in his outlying hut at Forest Creek. By all accounts, despite his migration to New Zealand, Alexander retained his Scottish identity. He wore a kilt and tam-o-shanter, spoke Gaelic, played the bagpipes, and even grew barley for his still.

Although Alexander remained a shepherd until his death in 1902, he did experience some upward occupational mobility through his movement into the position of head-shepherd in 1873. He also amassed assets of almost £2000, including over £100 of real estate. While Sandy's mobility was based on accumulated savings, rather than movement up the 'agricultural ladder', local stories indicate that this was not what he had planned originally. Apparently, after a few years as a boundary keeper, Sandy had purchased a small farm 'down country' with the intention of shifting on to it. On his way to it one day he slipped and broke a leg. While recuperating at Mt. Peel

¹⁵ It is difficult to work out what Alexander's social status was when he died. He is listed on his son's birth certificate as a Gentleman (which would seem to indicate substantial upward mobility) but just two months later his death certificate makes him a 'carrier' (probably self-employed, but indicating less mobility than as a Gentleman). No occupation is given on his probate, and by the time his son was married in 1912 Alick snr. had been transformed into a 'farmer.'

Marriage Certificate, 15 Feb 1873, McPherson-Gosling, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington; Death Certificate # 975, 1873, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington; [171] CAHX, Department of Justice High Court, Christchurch, CH A135/1873, MacPHERSON, Alexander, Temuka (Probate); Electoral Rolls, Timaru, 1871-1874; *Timaru Herald*: 24 Feb 1873, 17 Nov 1873; G. R. Macdonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum; Paul (R.P.J.) McNicholl Card File, South Canterbury Museum; Harte, *Mt. Peel is a Hundred*: 81; Wilkinson, *South Canterbury's Early Settlers and Immigrants*: Appendix 1; Peel Forest Timeline.

Sandy concluded that this should be taken as a bad omen, sold the farm, and thus stayed on at Mt. Peel.¹⁶

It is impossible to verify this story. There were too many Alexander McLeods who owned land in the area and no dates were given in the anecdote from which to check it.¹⁷ Despite this, the story still provides an example of how life is full of junctures where an accidental event can provide the impetus for change (or in this case remaining with the status quo).



Figure 11 - Alex (Sandy) McLeod

Source: Oliver A. Gillespie, *South Canterbury: A Record of Settlement*, 2nd ed., the South Canterbury Centennial History Committee, Timaru, 1971: facing 304.

¹⁶ It is possible that the farm mentioned in the tale was a 5,000 acre run around Dingleburn, near the Canterbury provincial boundary, which Sandy McLeod applied for in 1867. Robert Pinney raises the possibility that McLeod was in fact acting as a dummy for Moorehouse. This is a possibility, as at this time he was constantly employed at Mt. Peel. Pinney also notes that if Moorehouse had wanted dummies who were competent enough to have been managers, then McLeod certainly was up to the job. Robert Pinney, *Early Northern Otago Runs*, Collins, Auckland, 1981: 65-66.

¹⁷ Alexander's biographical sketch was built up from the following sources. [MB44 N8 a] - Church of the Holy Innocents Register 1864-1987; [MB44 N8 b] - Church of the Holy Innocents Register 1869-1994; [171] CAHX, Department of Justice High Court, Christchurch, CH 4645/1903 AND TU 622/1902, McLEOD, Alexander, Woodbury, Gentleman; Death Certificate # 1881, 1902, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington; Passenger List, 'Glentanner', 1857; Electoral Rolls for Gladstone, Rangitata, Geraldine and Pareora 1880-1900; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*; Alexander Turnbull Library, *Alexander Turnbull Library Biographies Index [Microform]*; Margaret and John Oliver, *Births, Deaths & Marriages 1900 to 1904. Extracted from the Timaru Herald by Margaret and John Oliver*, Timaru Bookworms, Timaru, 1989: 11; [FHC # 652] - Canterbury Death Duty Register 1867-1914 (South Canterbury Extracts); McLaughlin and Hampton, *Canterbury Death Duty Index 1867-1914*; Nancy McLaughlin, *Deceased Persons' Estates, Canterbury 1887-1914 [Microform]*, New Zealand Society of Genealogists, Auckland, 1989; Hewson, *Early Days in the Ashburton County*: 17; Pinney, *Early Northern Otago Runs*: 65-66; Kerr, *From the Beginning*: 131-2; [MB44 17] - Odd notes on Mt Peel.; Harte, *Mt. Peel is a Hundred*: 48, 49, 60, 80, 81; Peel Forest Timeline; Wilkinson, *South Canterbury's Early Settlers and Immigrants*: Appendix 1.

John Pyle

One of the more unusual 'failure' cases was that of John Pyle. Although John's name appeared in only three sources other than the wages' books, the path of his colonial career can be clearly seen. John was born in 1852 in England. When he emigrated to New Zealand on the *Hereford* in January 1878, he was listed as a farm labourer from Somersetshire. His previous experience in this type of work indicates some suitability for the colonial experience, and by January the following year John was employed at Mt. Peel Station as a cowman and general servant. At this stage John was earning £1 per week, the standard rate, and seemed to be much like all the other labourers. However, just a year and a half after being employed at Mt. Peel (less than three years since arriving in New Zealand) John's chances of colonial success ended abruptly, and in a most uncommon fashion; at 2pm on 8 October 1880, he was arrested for lunacy.¹⁸ John's case was forwarded from Fairlie to Timaru where he stood trial and was subsequently committed to a lunatic asylum. It seems that he was never 'cured' or released; he died at Christchurch's Sunnyside Asylum, less than four years later. John left no will, and had no relatives in the colony to administer his estate of less than £150.¹⁹

In each of the above cases, some physical event (death, illness or an accident) proved the turning or stalling point. For another of the workers the type of bad luck experienced was directly related to the lack of basic education.

Michael Carney

Michael Carney was born in Australia around 1850. He came to New Zealand in 1856, arriving at Nelson. After four years there, Michael, his brother and his father walked from Nelson down to Canterbury. Three years later, aged fifteen, Michael started work as a musterer at Mesopotamia Station in South Canterbury.

¹⁸ This is one of the few cases where societal values may have been forced on one of the labourer's lives. Lunacy itself can be taken to be an illness, and thus, 'bad luck;' to be arrested and committed, however, may have been more a reflection of others' values, rather than a true indication of failure. Despite this possibility, the fact that John died only four years after being committed indicates that some form of dementia or other serious disease was almost certainly present.

¹⁹ John Pyle appears in the following sources: [CH 439] CAHZ, Police Department Christchurch District Headquarters, 2/1 - POLICE FAIRLIE - REGISTER OF PRISONERS - 1877-1912; Immigration Department Im-CH, Series 4 Canterbury Passenger lists; Wellington National Archives Probate File - AAOM, Wellington High Court Series 6029, 2200 PYLE, JOHN.

In 1871 Michael married Mary Quane in the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Christchurch and by 1880 he owned land at Alford Forest. Having at least six sons, Michael was often able to get away from his farm, and he used some of this time to supplement his income with seasonal mustering at various farms in the district, including Mt. Peel. He steadily increased his landholdings until in 1913 he owned, and farmed, 240 acres of freehold land, and 54 acres leasehold. In relation to the agricultural ladder thesis, Michael was successful. By the end of the next year, however, he was bankrupt and landless, at the age of 64. Unfortunately, Michael does not seem to have been probated, so there is no record of whether he managed to regain any of his lost assets before he died, but it does seem unlikely.²⁰

What is most interesting in this case is how Michael ended up bankrupt. This is part of his statement at the hearing:

I was farming at Alford Forest for some 20 years until some 6 or 7 months ago.... In July 1912 I signed by my mark a paper which turned out afterwards to be a guarantee to the N.Z. Farmers Coop to secure my sons current account. The paper was not read over to me. I can neither read nor write.

The amount of guarantee turned out to be some £2800. The Coop sued me early in 1913, took possession in about May and sold all I was possessed of. Finding myself in a position of not being able to meet any further engagements I was advised to file. I have no assets and no cash in hand.²¹

From this evidence it seems that, unwittingly, Michael became responsible for his son's debts, and that it was therefore 'an accident' that he was bankrupted.²²

Although it is likely that bankruptcy cases were argued to show the defendants in the best possible light, it is hard to fault Michael's argument after examining his file. Firstly, Michael's claim of illiteracy is supported by evidence from his 1871 marriage certificate. Both he and his wife left their mark, indicating that neither could sign his or her own name. Secondly, Michael's affairs seem otherwise in order

²⁰ Peter Newton, author of many books on the high country, remembers working with 'Old Mick' at Winterslow in 1926, when Michael would have been 76. Newton claims that Michael's last job was at Bayfields, when Michael was 80. This supports the impression that Michael never recouped his losses. Peter Newton, *Mesopotamia Station: A Survey of the First Hundred Years*, Timaru Herald Co. Ltd., Timaru, 1960: 14.

²¹ [CH214] - Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch - BOX 120 2 Carney, Michael 1914 (Bankruptcy File).

²² Michael's information was obtained from: [CH214] - Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch - BOX 120 2 Carney, Michael 1914 (Bankruptcy File); [CH-290] 48A - Retrospective Nominal Index to Purchasers of Rural Sections [c.1851-1870s]; Electoral Rolls for Coleridge, Ashburton, Rangitata, 1880-1905; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*; CPL Family History Card Index; Hampton, *Bankruptcies in New Zealand 1881-1940*; Vance, *Bush, Bullocks and Boulders*: 64, 152, 251; Hewson, *Early Days in the Ashburton County*: 27; Newton, *Mesopotamia Station*: 11, 12, 14.

with no signs of carelessness or extravagance (Table 4 and Table 5).

Table 4 – Michael Carney – Statement of Bankrupt

Source: [CH214] - Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch - BOX 120
2 Carney, Michael 1914 (Bankruptcy File)

"A"							
STATEMENT OF BANKRUPT							
Dr.				Cr.			
	£	s	d		£	s	d
Unsecured creditors as per List "B"	2549	0	0	Stock in hand	nil		
Secured creditors as per List "C"	Nil			Book debts	nil		
Less estimated value of securities	Nil			Cash in Hand	nil		
Surplus to contra	Nil			Furniture	nil		
Other Liabilities as per list "D"	Nil			Property as per List "E"	nil		
Total Debts	2549	0	0	Surplus from securities in hand of secured creditors	nil		
				Total Assets	nil		
Deficiency	2549	0	0				

Table 5 – Michael Carney – List of Unsecured Creditors

Source: [CH214] - Department of Justice Commercial Affairs Division Christchurch - BOX 120
2 Carney, Michael 1914 (Bankruptcy File)

"B"							
LIST OF UNSECURED CREDITORS							
No.	Name	Address	Occupation	Amount of debt			
				£	s	d	
1	New Zealand Farmers Co-operative Association Limited	Christchurch	Merchants	2400	0	0	
2	Dalgety & Co. Ltd	Christchurch	Merchants	149	0	0	
				2549			

Unlike Frank Potter's situation where a large number of small debts, well in excess of his assets, hinted at money management problems, Michael Carney had only two creditors. The smaller debt of just under £150 to farm merchants is fairly minor and not unusual when one considers that he owned over 200 sheep, and over 200 acres of freehold land. The other debt was not directly his, but his son's. Michael claimed that he was unaware that he had been made guarantor for his son, and this seems plausible. If he had in fact been aware of the situation, it does seem likely that he would have tried to rectify it before it became this extreme. It could be possible to argue that Michael's illiteracy was not beyond his control – he could have learnt to read if he desired – and therefore his bankruptcy was a case of bad planning, rather than bad luck. But it was the unpredictable combination of three factors which made the result accidental: his illiteracy, unknowingly becoming his son's guarantor, and his son's financial collapse. Under 'normal' circumstances Michael's illiteracy probably would not have mattered (there is no sign that it had hindered him previously), and if his son had been successful Michael could have remained blissfully unaware of his status as underwriter.

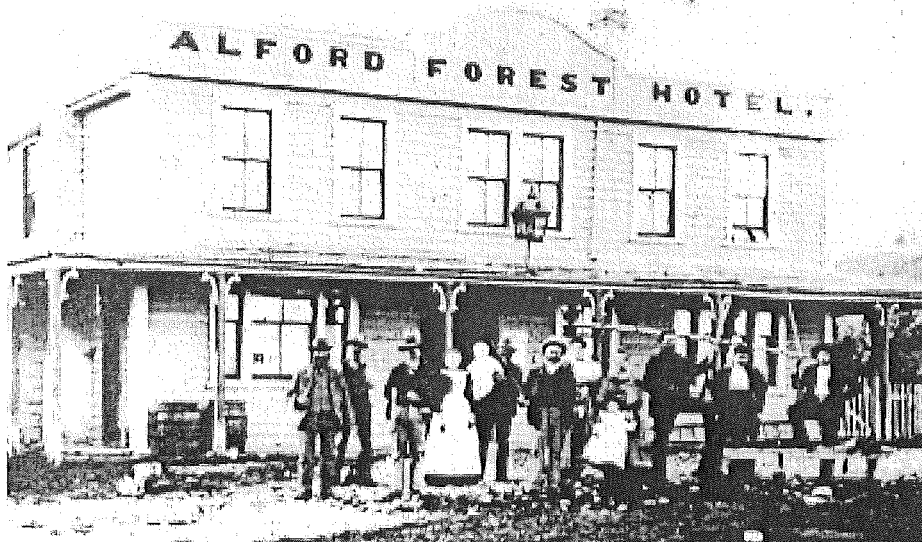


Figure 12 - Mike Carney 5th from left (holding Leslie Timpson), John Wheelband, Annie Timpson (holding Charlie Timpson), "Gran" Timpson and Alice Timpson, Charles Timpson, Kate Sinton, Chris Grieve.'

Source: Vance, William, *Bush, Bullocks and Boulders: the Story of the Upper Ashburton*, the Alford Forest Bushside Springburn District Centenary Committee, Ashburton, 1976: between pages 92 and 93.

Whether or not Michael Carney was actually aware of his accountability, his story is valuable. The lives of both Michael and Frank Potter show how upward mobility could be reversed at any time, either inadvertently as both these men argued, or purely through a lack of thrift as their creditors doubtless believed.

The Elusive Swaggers

These highly transient and unattached males who roamed the countryside in search of work were the most difficult men to trace. They were unlikely to appear in any of the official landholding lists, Electoral Rolls, or marriage records. Similarly, unless they were particular ‘characters’ there was little chance of them being remembered in obituaries or local histories. Two of the Mt. Peel men, Archie McPhee and Con Sweeney, spent most of their life on the swag. Despite the difficulty in tracing men like this, parts of their lives could be reconstructed. While their stories are too sketchy for in-depth analysis, they offer a valuable glimpse of some of the most socially invisible, and financially unsuccessful, members of colonial society.

Archie McPhee

Archibald McPhee was born in County Antrim, Ireland, about 1845. While in his early twenties, Archie emigrated to New Zealand. Most of the remaining forty years of his life seem to have been spent on the swag around the South Canterbury area. Over this time he made a name for himself as a thatcher, stonemason and boar slayer, being employed on many stations to repair roofs and keep the wild pig population in check. While at Mt. Peel for a month in 1884, Archie was paid to kill pigs at 1s each. Payment was generally received in return for the pigs’ tails, and one local history claims that ‘It was a well known fact that tame pigs in their sties were often found without their tails when Archie was about.’²³

²³ Evelyn Hosken, *Life on a Five Pound Note*, Evelyn Hosken, Timaru, 1964: 146.



Figure 13- ‘Hut of cobble stones and thatch: 1866. Built by Archie McFie [sic], Mount Aspiring’

Source: Johannes C. Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury, Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, 1916: 458.*

Although he had received some education (he could read and write) and had practical skills that were in demand, Archie never succeeded in New Zealand. He was still a labourer when he died in 1906, and no estate was filed, although he had owned 1 acre of land (worth £8) in Geraldine in 1882.

Like Abner, Archie’s downfall seems to have been drinking. In almost all of the surviving police charge books for the South Canterbury area, Archie makes an appearance, each time for being drunk in a public place. Although it seems that he never appeared in court for any of these offences, Archie had to pay fines and stay in the lockup overnight in Fairlie, Geraldine and Timaru at least eight times between 1874 and 1902.²⁴ Most of the arrests probably followed a drinking bout where he succeeded in ‘bursting’ his paycheck, as he was always completely penniless when picked up. Occasionally he still had his swag or knife, but more often than not his only possessions were the clothes he wore.

²⁴ Archie did appear in court in Timaru in 1892 charged with disorderly conduct, and he had to spend seven days in the Timaru gaol. By this time Archie’s record already noted twelve previous convictions. The *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 1892, Vol. XVI, George Didsbury, Government Printer, Wellington, 1892: 192.

In spite of a life obviously hard on his body, Archie did not die until he was 61; even then it was not through illness. Alcohol, however, was still involved. The Timaru correspondent for the *Press* of 18 June 1906 noted that:

An elderly man, Archibald McFie [sic], fell from a railway bridge here last Monday night while under the influence of drink, and died in the hospital this morning. The medical evidence at the inquest showed that death would not have resulted from the fall if McFie had been in a normally healthy condition.²⁵

Although Archie was highly transient and never married, he was well known around the Timaru area and was mentioned in at least four local histories.²⁶ He was remembered well after his death and an acquaintance was even inspired to write to John A. Lee about him, guaranteeing his inclusion in Lee's book *Roughnecks, Rolling Stones & Rouseabouts*. Surprisingly, none of these books mentions his drinking, although John A. Lee alluded to the possibility in his closing sentences on Archie's life:

Archie McPhee, when a very old man and maybe too deaf to know what was behind him, came to a very sad end while walking on the railway track between Washdyke and Timaru. He was run down by a train. Drunk? Who knows? Probably just penniless and tramping from hut to hut, from meal to meal, from life to death. Died along the tracks, the common fate for many old men unable to work.²⁷

²⁵ The *Press*, 18 Jun 1906.

²⁶ There is conflicting evidence as to Archie's place of birth. Most primary sources claim that he was Irish, and one of the earliest of these specifically mentions County Antrim. In contrast John A. Lee claims that he was Scottish. A Scottish Archibald McPhee was arrested in Dunedin in 1885 for 'unlawfully killing a sheep' and a year later in Oamaru for larceny. His date of birth was given as 1856 or 1857, he was just over 5 ft and he had several distinctive tattoos. As the Archibald McPhee who was at Mt. Peel was 5 ft 7 in, had no tattoos and was ten years younger, they are clearly not the same man, but it could explain John Lee's claim that Archie was of Scottish descent.

Archie's biography was built up from these sources: Death Certificate # 1200, 1906, Central Registry Office, Lower Hutt, Wellington; Electoral Rolls for Pareora (1894) and Waitaki (1905); *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand, 1882*; the *Press*, 18 Jun 1906; [CH 439] CAHZ, Police Department Christchurch District Headquarters, 2/1 - POLICE FAIRLIE - REGISTER OF PRISONERS - 1877-1912; [CH 7] CAAE, Police Department District Headquarters, Timaru, /2A - WATCHHOUSE CHARGE BOOK GERALDINE - 1874-1911; *The New Zealand Police Gazette, 1892*: 192. Margaret and John Oliver, *Obituaries, Sudden Deaths, Accident and Inquests, 1905-1906. Extracted from the Timaru Herald* by Margaret and John Oliver, Timaru, 1990; Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*: 458; A. J. Blakiston, *My Yesteryears*, the Timaru Herald Company Limited, Timaru, 1952: 49-50; Connie Rayne, *Sherwood Downs and Beyond*, Connie Rayne, Oamaru, 1991; William Vance, *High Endeavour: Story of the Mackenzie Country*, 3rd ed., William Vance, Timaru, 1966: 71, 88; Hosken, *Life on a Five Pound Note*: 145-6; John A. Lee, *Roughnecks, Rolling Stones & Rouseabouts: With an Anthology of Early Swagger Literature*, Whitcoulls, Christchurch, 1977: 39-40.

²⁷ Lee, *Roughnecks, Rolling Stones & Rouseabouts*: 39-40.

Cornelius Sweeney

Another of the traceable Mt. Peel swaggers was Cornelius Sweeney.²⁸ Like McPhee, Sweeney was an Irish Roman Catholic, born in the early mid-nineteenth century and equipped with a basic education. He, too, died penniless and alone, only remembered through appearances in police records and by a few paragraphs in a book. He did not appear in the Freeholders' Return or in any of the Electoral Rolls and even the information from his death certificate was unavailable as his death date could not be established.

While Archie was remembered for thatching and boar slaying, Con's talent was artistic and of less practical use – carving. A man who had grown up on a South Canterbury farm remembered the tie rings that Sweeney used to make out of sheep bones and mother of pearl. These were popular amongst farm workers all over the area and they were sold to supplement his income from shearing and labouring. His prices were high when other work was available, and dropped when he found himself on the swag.

Like Archie and Abner, Cornelius was intemperate. Although his name did not appear in the charge books as frequently as McPhee's, Sweeney was picked up for drunkenness at least three times, once in Timaru in 1892, in Ashburton in 1896, and again in 1907, this time in Fairlie. In both the later instances he was arrested before he completely busted his paycheck and sold his possessions. The first time Con was still in possession of 18s (almost a full week's wages), and the second he was well loaded down with his carving implements including 2 pocket knives, 3 files, and an oil stone.²⁹ Like Archie, Cornelius Sweeney lived until he was over sixty, never settled down and finished his life on the road. 'He was found dead in a swaggers' hut in the bed of the Ashburton River.'³⁰

²⁸ In one source his surname is recorded as McSweeney.

²⁹ Fragments of Con Sweeney's life were found in the following sources: [CH 439] CAHZ, Police Department Christchurch District Headquarters, 2/1 - POLICE ASHBURTON - CHARGE BOOK - 1893-99; [CH 439] CAHZ, Police Department Christchurch District Headquarters, 2/1 - POLICE FAIRLIE - REGISTER OF PRISONERS - 1877-1912; *The New Zealand Police Gazette*, 1892, Vol. XVI, George Didsbury, Government Printer, Wellington, 1892: 92; Lee, *Roughnecks, Rolling Stones & Rouseabouts*: 25, 38.

³⁰ Lee, *Roughnecks, Rolling Stones & Rouseabouts*: 38.

All of the case studies which have been described in this chapter show how the upward social mobility of various rural workers was hindered or reversed. The studies also reinforce the Victorian belief in thrift, sobriety and hard work as the cornerstones of mobility. These seem to have been the compulsory 'rules' to climbing the ladder of success in rural colonial New Zealand, but it is also clear that fate played a part. While the previous chapter showed that upwards mobility was a definite possibility for farm labourers, this chapter shows that it was never assured.

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, information gathered through record linkage and prosopography has been presented. Despite the obscure nature of the individuals under study, a remarkable amount of useful quantitative and qualitative data was amassed. Several hundred primary sources were consulted to build up a database of over 10,000 records relating to almost 500 individuals. The method of collection of these data has been one of the most important parts of this thesis. While others have used prosopography to study relatively prominent individuals, or record linkage between a few sources to gather information on 'ordinary people,' no other study was found which employed these techniques with such a large range of sources or with such obscure individuals as the Mt. Peel labourers. The combination of record linkage and prosopography resulted in traceable rate of 35.22 per cent, similar to Pickens' one third, and significantly higher than if McAloon's methods had been used. Hopefully the system which was developed should allow future groups of obscure individuals to be traced with a very high degree of success and accuracy.

As this study was largely exploratory and used an unrefined technique, a number of important questions remain unanswered. Further study using similar techniques could explore various branches of enquiry: other studies set in different parts of New Zealand could shed light on how typical the Mt. Peel workers were; rough indications that opportunities were slowly declining could be examined in depth, and attempts made to examine which factors most affected the 'collective' chance of success; closer examination of death certificates and probates could explore Galt's conclusion that ethnicity affected wealth accumulation.

Despite the differences in methods used between this and other social mobility studies, the results can still be compared with a number of other findings. The large number of untraceable names makes detailed scrutiny impossible, but some broad comparisons can be made. Perhaps most interesting is the comparison between the rates of property ownership shown by the Mt. Peel workers, and those found elsewhere in New Zealand and overseas. A minimum of 40 per cent of the Mt. Peel workers eventually owned land. This figure is similar to Fairburn's estimation that 50 per cent of all adult males owned freehold land by the early 1880s, and significantly higher than his estimation that one quarter of manual workers were

landowners.¹ As many of the Mt. Peel workers changed their occupational titles once they purchased land, Fairburn's estimates are consistent with the findings of this study. Similar land ownership rates were found in late nineteenth-century Bendigo, Australia, where Fahey found that a stake in landed property was held by 45.9 per cent of labourers (although they were not probated).² Both these New Zealand and Australian figures are considerably higher than Thernstrom's figures for 1830 Bristol where only 0.3 per cent of labourers owned real property, or 1850 Newburyport's much higher 9.42 per cent.³ Admittedly, the most persistent of Thernstrom's labourers experienced similar success rates to the Mt. Peel workers, with between one third and one half owning some property after ten years in Newburyport, rising to 63-78 per cent after 20 years.⁴ In all these countries, land ownership was seen as one of the main keys to upward social mobility. From these comparisons it seems that New Zealand offered the new labourer more chance of colonial success than America, and similar chances to Australia. Assuming that the figures from Bristol can be taken as fairly representative for Britain and Ireland as a whole, it is clear that emigration increased one's chances of success, at least in terms of property ownership.

The other main aspect of social mobility, occupational mobility, which was examined is less suitable for comparison. In this thesis, the emphasis on the level of self-sufficiency achieved has eliminated some of the ambiguity normally involved when ranking rural occupations, so broad comparisons can be made, but once again, finer analysis is impossible. As with land ownership, over 40 per cent of the Mt. Peel labourers experienced significant upward occupational mobility, with rates decreasing as the century progressed. This figure is slightly lower than that found by Toynbee for early immigrants to Wellington; 50 per cent were upwardly occupationally mobile, and 60 per cent were self-employed or 'on their own account.'⁵ Because of the Mt. Peel labourers' lowly status it could be expected that they would not be quite as successful as a cross-section of all society, so this slightly lower rate of upward occupational mobility seems predictable. The Mt. Peel rates are

¹ Fairburn, *Ideal Society*: 45, 91-93.

² Fahey, 'Wealth and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth Century Bendigo': 66-80.

³ Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*: 116.

⁴ Ibid: 117.

⁵ Toynbee, 'Class and Mobility in Nineteenth Century Wellington Province': 57.

also very similar to those for Doyle's unskilled Jacksonville labourers which also show the same diminishing opportunities over time; from 1850-1860 47 per cent were upwardly occupationally mobile, dropping to 29 per cent the following decade.⁶ Unfortunately, no comparable data are available for Britain, but, as property ownership significantly affects rural occupational mobility (self-employment generally relies on land ownership, or at least rental), it does seem likely that Britain's occupational mobility rates would have plummeted with the introduction of enclosure. At the same time, cottage industries were suffering the effects of the industrial revolution.

When both these social mobility components, property and occupational mobility, are combined, it can be seen that New Zealand offered dramatically better chances than Britain and Ireland, chances which were probably not significantly different from the United States and Australia. Although perhaps not quite the land of milk and honey portrayed in emigration propaganda, in terms of what most colonists had left behind, New Zealand must have seemed to offer significantly better chances for success.

The evidence presented in this thesis has fallen into three main avenues of investigation: the proportions of labourers who succeeded and failed; the factors which most influenced success; and the factors which typically led to failure. By combining the results of these enquiries, we can answer the overarching question of whether colonial New Zealand rural workers best represented an apprenticeship or a proletariat. Was New Zealand really the land of opportunity and the labourers' paradise that was portrayed in the colonial immigration propaganda, or was a distinct landless rural working class being formed instead?

The Victorian values of thrift, sobriety, and industry were vital for success, and the majority of those who 'failed' did so because they lacked these qualities, through insufficient planning, or just plain bad luck; early arrival, family or social networks, and previous farming experience were common mechanisms of social mobility, but it was definitely still possible to be upwardly mobile without them. Ultimately,

⁶ Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*: 262-3.

between 38.10 per cent and 73.21 per cent of our traceable labourers achieved colonial success.

If we look more closely at these points and the underlying evidence, we can see that they unquestionably reinforce New Zealand's image as a land of opportunity. Not one of the Mt. Peel labourers failed because of social impediments to success. While drunkenness, laziness, luck, or even bad management and a lack of planning are not necessarily under the control of the individual, they are definitely not imposed by others. It is clear that none of the men was actually denied the chance to succeed: no individuals or groups were prohibited from buying land, excluded from occupational mobility or forbidden to save because of societal expectations. Instead, a lack of success invariably stemmed from personal failing, the effects of labour or commodity fluctuations, or bad luck. These factors were not artificially geared against particular groups, but could affect anyone.

Likewise, there were enough men from all circumstances becoming successful to indicate that the possibility of upward social mobility was open to everyone, not just to those from wealthy or landholding backgrounds. Many of the Mt. Peel labourers did not succeed, but the possibility was there for all of them. None was irrevocably destined to fail because of background or origins; advantages were not 'inherited,' but 'self-made.' To be sure, those who were financially better off, or had influential connections, or were occupationally more suited to the colonial lifestyle did have a better chance of success than those who were not. However, this was not because they were sheltered from or untouched by the factors which affected others; these people were still affected, but they had the resources to lessen the severity of any consequences. This evidence does not support the emergence of a rural proletariat as suggested by John E. Martin, S. Eldred-Grigg and other 'pessimists.' Enough of the men were upwardly mobile to reject the hypothesis that a distinct rural working class was forming. Certainly, most of the men continued to be involved in rural life in some form, but the majority did not remain totally reliant on wage labour.

The word 'proletariat' was deliberately used as it also implies the absence of land ownership, one of Martin's main concerns. Again, over 40 per cent of Mt. Peel workers owned land at some stage in their lives. To accept Martin's vision of a rural proletariat, one would expect only a bare minimum of labourers to be buying land or succeeding. A rate of well over one third is not a bare minimum.

Perhaps, then, a distinct rural working class was formed by an intergenerational rut trapping those from labouring backgrounds? Again, although the available evidence is slight, what little there is disproves it. While farmers' sons probably found it easier to escape wage labour than labourers' sons, men from labouring backgrounds were definitely moving up the agricultural ladder and into self-employed farming.⁷ This 'open' mobility system precludes the formation of a self-recruiting labouring class.

The Mt. Peel workers cannot be represented by the model of a rural proletariat. The evidence best fits the opposing contemporary model of a rural apprenticeship, although, in the majority of cases, mobility took longer and was more difficult than indicated by immigration propaganda. Colonial New Zealand can be viewed as a 'land of opportunity' because the fundamentals of success were available to all.

While many of the Mt. Peel men did not end up fully self-employed and thus totally independent of wage labour, up to 70 per cent did experience some shift up the agricultural ladder. Despite the fact that very high levels of wealth remained out of reach for most of the Mt. Peel workers, the overall conditions and prospects do seem to have been better than what could have been expected 'back home.' in spite of seasonal and periodic fluctuations, for much of the nineteenth century labour was in demand and wages were, comparatively, some of the highest in the world.⁸ Most important, though, was the belief that success and prosperity were attainable. Land and finance were available in a way that was unimaginable in England and enough people were 'getting on' to perpetuate this feeling. Contemporaries were probably less concerned with how many did succeed, as with the high prospects of success under particular conditions. Although success was definitely not assured, it was a realistic goal for all. The vagaries of the labour market, and fluctuations in land and commodity prices, could easily prevent the colonial dream becoming a reality, but it was possible for sober, hard-working, thrifty individuals to achieve a level of wealth or comfort significantly better than they could have expected had they not emigrated.

⁷ Further investigation on how men from different backgrounds fared, could prove fruitful. If farmers' sons generally experienced shorter-range upward mobility than those from a labouring background, this would show that opportunities were equalising over time – similar to Turner's frontier thesis. If, however, those from farming backgrounds showed longer-range upward mobility than labourers' sons, this could indicate the formation of a structured hierarchy.

⁸ Tennant, *Paupers and Providers*: 183; Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*: 243; Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*: 114; Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1984: 20.

Appendix 1 – The Database

One of the most important aspects of this thesis was developing a database to store all the fragments of information relating to the farm labourers.¹ Microsoft Access was chosen as the database management program and a custom-made database was developed.²

The first step was working out what information would need to be stored and how it would need to be accessed. While a simple spreadsheet-like flat database consisting of just one table could have been used, it was decided that a flexible relational database would prove more useful. This would allow all possible pieces of information to be collated and positive links to be identified as each individual's biography was compiled. The database had the advantage of storing information that had not been positively linked, or which related to another individual with the same name.³

The first table entered in the database effectively provided a 'cover page' for each individual. As well as recording pertinent information from the wages' books, it also stored general biographical details. Examples of some of the field names and types of information stored in each are listed below (Table 6), followed by a sample 'cover page' as seen in form view (Figure 14).⁴

¹ One of the problems encountered when starting this project was that very little had been written on the physical side of going about this kind of study. Most large social mobility studies have had specialists who designed and maintained a database management system, and as a result the specifics of how to go about setting up a database for historical research, or even just hints, are mostly not included in the literature, and had to be worked out almost from scratch. Even books specifically on historical computing were generally not much use, primarily because technology has changed so fast that unless the information was only a few years old it was out of date, but also because they were often aimed at the specialist. A few exceptions which proved useful were Charles Harvey, and Jon Press, *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1996; Evan Mawdsley, and Thomas Munck, *Computing for Historians: An Introductory Guide*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1993; Hamish James, 'A Database for All Seasons: Building the Caversham Database for Historical Research', *Archifacts*, 1998: 57-71.

² MSAccess for Windows 95, version 7.00.

³ This was often vital for later identification, as details about an individual carrying the same name (but who was clearly 'not mine' for some reason) were often invaluable for distinguishing between the two in another source.

⁴ A form is basically a user interface for a table. Information which is shown, or entered, in a form is stored in the underlying table. The 'cover page' was set up to allow access to as much information as possible on each individual, at a glance. While this information was all stored in the underlying table, it would not have been possible to have viewed it all at once without a form.

Table 6 - Example Field Names and Information

<u>Field Name</u>	<u>Information stored in field</u>
Surname, Name	Standardised name ⁵
WBSurname, Name	Name as appears in the wages' books
WBFirst Year	First year that name appears in the wages' books
WBEnd Year	Last year that name appears in the wages' books
WBNotes	Notes from the wages' books including (where available); which wages' book listed in, dates listed, occupational title, rate of pay, and any other useful/interesting information.
B	Birth date
Placeb	Birth place
m (1)	Date of first marriage
Wife (1)	Name of first wife
m (2)	Date of second marriage (if remarried)
Wife (2)	Name of second wife
D	Death date
Whered	Death place (or burial place)
Notes	Biographical notes gathered (positive links only) and indications as to which sources have provided positive or possible links. This included landholding and estate information as well as pointing out family ties which could be used for identification.
Traceable Name	Whether the name was considered traceable, or if it had been relegated to the 'untraceable' category. (If the name was untraceable then it was further sorted into other categories to indicate how this could bias any results.)

⁵ This was used as the primary identifier enabling linkage between tables rather than a unique ID number. As well as distinguishing between different individuals with the same name (For instance Chapman, Wm.; Chapman, Wm. Martin; and Chapman, Wm. Taylor) it meant that spelling could be standardised without losing the original spelling from the wages' book. For instance K. McLennan was also listed as K. McLellan so one method of spelling had to be chosen, also all Mc or Mac prefixes were standardised to Mac, and as more information was found about someone's full name (For example Jas. Pithie to James Philp Pithie) this information was added to the standardised field. Obviously surnames were put first to enable alphabetising.

Microsoft Access - [Stdised Names & Dates (singl)]

File Edit View Insert Format Records Tools Window Help

Surname, Name PITHIE, James Plain ☒ Traceable Name

WBSurname, Name PITHIE, Jas. WBFirst Year 1861 WBEnd Year 1865 ☐ Indecipherable Name

☐ Too Common

☐ Not enough traceable info

WBNotes F3.11107jan1863-sep1865(no)£55pa11apr1865'Section bought at Ashburton' £16
F3.1110may1861?-sep1862(digging ditches, drains etc) Vignette? ☒

b: 3 Jun 1835 m (1): 26 Apr 1870 m (2): d: 31 May 1916

Arbirlot, Angus (Forfar), Scotlar WISE, Martha (Surrey, En Geraldine, Stn. Canterbury

SUCCEED

1apr1865'Section bought at Ashburton' £16.

Some link between Pithie & Dines?? - DINES & PITHIE owned a 20 acres section (H5287) at Allford Forest

James came to NZ via Australia where he gold mined for a time. [Arrived New Zealand c.1861] He invested his money in land at Timaru, Geraldine and Ashburton. James worked on the Tripp Estate, Orari Gorge (Stn Cant.) Bought land off Tripp, later sold it back and bought at Scotsburn. James was a quarryman in Scotland and helped build Samuel Butlers hut at Mesopotamia which was made of stone.

One of the managers of "Scotsburn Domain" c.1875/6

Elected to Mt. Peel Rd. Bd. He was a farmer of Mt Peel.

Eldest son Wm. John m. 24.5.1898 Mary Ann ANDERSON

Sons: George; Harry Thomas; Herbert; Auwold [?]

Issue at death: Males, 44, 41, 35, 34, 31; Females, 37.

LAND: Jointly owned RS 5288 (20a) and 5287 (20a) by 23 Mar 1863; RS 14628 (17a), 14629 (33a, 12 Oct 1871), 14960 (17a), 16940 (140a), 18804 (20a) by the 1870s. Freehold Rural section 16940, Scotsburn Flat by 1887. Freeholders: 158a, 16940

See: Index to Obits; Freeholders; Family Histories; ATL Biogs; Books; Probates; Wises; Sheep Returns; Crown Grants; Ne

Poss:

Related: Probates; Wises; Sheep Returns; Electors;

TOO MANY: NOT MINE:

☒ Land? ☒ Upward Occupation? ☒ Over £200? ☒ Success? ☐ Fail? ☐ Inconclusive?

Record: 121 of 478

Form View

Burials	Bankruptcies
BDM	Baptisms
Cemetery	Marriages
DDR	Probates
Estates	Ships
DP Estates	CPL Index
Index to Obits	BOM Index
Obits	DDI
Sections	Crown Grants
Electors	Archives
Freeholders	Deaths
Sheep Returns	Births
Wises	
Objections	
Family Histories	
ATL Biogs	
Books	
News	
IGI	

Figure 14 - Sample 'Cover Page'

As well as providing a general overview of what was known about each individual, this 'cover page' also performed the vital task of showing which other tables contained other information, and acted as a pivot between the various other records which could relate to the same individual. However, before describing how this worked, it is first necessary to look at how tables (and their related forms) were used to make up the database.

It was clear from the beginning that information from each different type of source would need to be stored in a separate table. As each new source was investigated, a new table was designed that would best display, store, and retrieve the information. This led to the problem of how to cope with the differing types of sources, some of which were in a standardised format (for example Electoral Rolls, street directories and the Freeholders' Return) and those which were not (for instance. The wages' books, local histories and probates). While a model or method-based database, where each piece of information is stored in a separate field, is best for standardised sources, for a non-standard source it is more useful to have a source-based database

allowing exact replication of the information.⁶ Since much of the information required for this study of social mobility is related to occupation and landholding (information which is generally in a fairly standardised form or can be presented as such without affecting its integrity), a method-based format was chosen. Although this meant that the exact format of each source was not always kept, large memo fields were used in order to retain as much of the original text as necessary and, where possible, the original format and headings of fields were used.

To set up a separate table (and form) for each distinct type of source was a fairly simple task, although it did require learning the fundamentals of Visual Basic programming. What proved to be more difficult was how to identify the information which related, or could possibly relate, to each individual so that it could easily be accessed.⁷ This was solved by relating records in each table in a many-to-one relationship with the records in the main table (that which held the 'cover page' information). This relationship was based around the 'Standardised Name' field which had been used as a primary key in the main table. By including this as a 'limit-to-list' combo field in each of the other tables every record in every table was linked to a name found in the main table.

This relationship allowed the cover page to act as a pivot between the various pieces of information which had been collected for each person. Looking again at the form view shown earlier, it can be seen that a collection of buttons is shown on the right hand side of the screen with labels such as 'Burials', 'BDM', 'Cemetery.' Each of these buttons opens a form which displays information based on that source. For instance, if the Burials button was pressed, the form displaying burial information from various Parish registers would appear; similarly the Probates button would open the form displaying information collected from probates and wills. When using these buttons from an individual's cover page, only the information which was linked to that individual would be shown. This meant that although information from

⁶ Advantages and disadvantages of both model/method-based database and source-based databases are discussed in Harvey and Press, *Databases in Historical Research*: 10-13 and James, 'A Database for All Seasons': 60-62, 66-69.

⁷ It should also be mentioned that each table/form was set up with a Check Box field named 'Confirmed.' Until information was positively identified as belonging to an individual this was left blank, and once the information was confirmed it was ticked. This meant that it could be seen at a glance which information was definite, and which was not proven.

each source was entered as a whole for all individuals, possible links could be viewed separately for each person.⁸

An example based on the earlier cover page is shown below. After bringing up the cover page for James Philp Pithie, pressing the 'Probate' button would bring up this screen (Figure 15), the first of two probate records related to James (the second is his brother's probate information). All the relevant information from his probate and will can then be seen at a glance, as well as source information.⁹

Microsoft Access - [Probates]

File Edit View Insert Format Records Tools Window Help

PITHIE, James Philp

Accession: 145 Agency code: CAHY

Agency: Department of Justice District & High Court, Timaru

Item: TU 858/1916

Name	Residence	Occupation
PITHIE, James Philp	Arundel	Retired Farmer

Date of Death	Place of Death
31 May 1916	Geraldine

Notes

Value: £1300

Sons: William John PITHIE (Landsalesman, Christchurch); George PITHIE (Farmer, Arundel) - both were born near Peel forest.

Notes (Will)

11 Nov 1914: Wife: Martha; Sons: George; Harry Thomas; Herbert; Auwold [?]

Record: 1 of 2 (Filtered)

Standardised SURNAMF. Name which record is relative to

Figure 15 - Probate Page for James Pithie

The ability to bring up only those records which were related to each person dramatically decreased the time needed to go through each person's records and mark those links which could be either positively confirmed, or denied — a task

⁸ In a similar way each form which held source information had a button linking it to the main page enabling one to view an outline of all other information on that individual at the press of a button.

⁹ Note the small tick in the top right hand corner which denoted a confirmed positive link.

which had to be done occasionally to update all the biographies and cover pages after new information had been added.¹⁰

Although, at first, the database was kept on a desktop computer, and updated daily from notes made from the various archives, it soon became clear that this was not utilising its full potential. In order to make the best use of all the information which had been gathered, and to ensure that even the most obscure fragments were recorded, it became necessary to purchase a portable computer. Not only did this mean that all existing data on an individual could be viewed before deciding whether the new information related to the same individual, it also allowed maximum flexibility for recording information. Each time a new source was found a new table and form could be set up immediately, ensuring that all relevant details were recorded faithfully, and in a way which best kept the integrity of the original source.

Although various genealogical programmes and ready-made databases are available, most do not have the flexibility required for this type of project. Much of the information required was not typical of what normally would be recorded. Furthermore, as all source particulars had to be recorded accurately and in detail so each piece of data could be traced if necessary, large fields for source information were vital. While the best genealogical programmes allowed for this (the best and most flexible example found was 'The Master Genealogist'), they would still have required a great deal customisation. Family tree databases are method-based and generally geared to accommodate information on large number of related family member, while this project required a combination of source-based and method-based storage for information on close to 500 mainly unrelated individuals. Although a ready-made genealogical database would be extremely useful for exploring family structure and its effects on social mobility, especially inter-generationally, a fully flexible custom-built database seemed to be most effective.

Despite having to deal with substantially more information than initially imagined, the method-based structure of the database coped very well. As it was completely custom-built, modification and adjustment was possible whenever needed. This

¹⁰ Even so, this was incredibly time-consuming and tedious. As there were approximately 500 individuals, and therefore the same number of 'cover pages', even if only a few minutes were spent on each person whenever links needed updating (usually done every few weeks), this still took almost half a week, just to sort through the information which had been gathered and redo the 'jigsaw puzzle' of each person's biography.

provided maximum flexibility to deal with any type of source, and ensured that the database specifications did not hinder or limit the research in any way. Above all, careful initial planning of what data might be encountered, how it could be stored efficiently, and how it needed to be retrieved, was the most important practical part of the research.

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Traceable Names

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>AHLSTRAND, F.</i>	AHLSTRAND, F.	1881	1881			
<i>ALDRIDGE, Wm.</i>	ALDRIDGE, Wm.	1873	1881	c.1845	England	
<i>ANDERSON, Harry</i>	ANDERSON, Harry	1865	1877			
<i>ARGYLE, John</i>	ARGYLE, John	1875	1875	May 1833	Derbyshire, England	
<i>BALDWIN, Fielding</i>	BALDWIN, Fielding	No dates given	No dates given	c.1832		
<i>BARRET, Edward</i>	BARRET, Edward	1867	1869	1847		
<i>BARRET, Michael</i>	BARRET, Michael	1872	1873	1851	Middlesex	
<i>BARRON, George</i>	BARRON, George	1873	1873	1844	Scotland	
<i>BENNET, Jack</i>	BENNET, Jack	1867	1869			
<i>BIRMINGHAM, John</i>	BIRMINGHAM, John	1863	1865			
<i>BIRMINGHAM, Martin</i>	BIRMINGHAM, Martin	1857	1857	1828		29 Apr 1864
<i>BLACKWOOD, Edward James</i>	BLACKWOOD, E. J.	1859	1860			
<i>BONN, George</i>	BONN, George	1871	1872			
<i>BOURCHIER, Michael</i>	BOURCHIER, Michael	1864	1864			
<i>BOWKER, J. F.</i>	BOWKER, J. F.	1883	1885			
<i>BRISCOE, Edwin</i>	BRISCOE, Edwin	1873	1885			
<i>BRISCOE, John</i>	BRISCOE, John	1892	1893			
<i>BRITTAİN, Andy</i>	BRITTAİN, Andy	1857	1861			

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>BROWNING, Wm.</i>	BROWNING, Wm.	1874	1876			
<i>BULL, Frank</i>	BULL, F.	1884	1884	c.1869	New Zealand	
<i>BULMER, Benjamin</i>	BULMER, Benjamin	1858	1861	1839	Wolmesly, Yorkshire	12 Jan 1913
<i>CAIRNCROFT, George</i>	CAIRNCROFT, George	1871	1873			
<i>CAMPBELL, Alexander Williamson Shaw</i>	CAMPBELL, A. W.	1888	1889	1857	Kilmarnock, Invernesshire, Scotland	
<i>CAMPBELL, Murdoch</i>	CAMPBELL, Murdoch	1891	1893			
<i>CARNEY, Michael</i>	CARNEY, M.	1881	1881	1850?	Australia	
<i>CASHEN, Matthew</i>	CASHEN, Matthew	1877	1888			
<i>CHAMBERS, Henry</i>	CHAMBERS, Henry	1867	1869			
<i>CHAPMAN, Jim</i>	CHAPMAN, Jim	1859	1869	1843		
<i>CHAPMAN, Wm.</i>	CHAPMAN, Wm.	1859	1873	1822	Mineshe[?], Somerset, England	8 Dec 1900
<i>CHAPMAN, Wm. Taylor</i>	CHAPMAN, Wm. Taylor	1860	1863	1846?		
<i>CHRISTISON, Joseph</i>	CHRISTISON, Joseph	1868	1871			
<i>CHURCHILL, Moses</i>	CHURCHILL, Moses	1880	1881			
<i>CHURCHWARD, Edward</i>	CHURCHWOOD, Ed.	1873	1879	1845	Stoke Gabriel, Devonshire, England	
<i>CLANSEY, Thos.</i>	CLANSEY, Thos.	1857	1857			
<i>CLIFFORD, William Ainsworth</i>	CLIFFORD, W. A.	1879	1884	1830?		19 Feb 1895
<i>CLOUGH, Abner</i>	CLOUGH, Abner	1856	1877	13 Sep 1840	Akaroa, NZ	22 Apr 1910
<i>CLOUGH, George Robinson</i>	CLOUGH, Robinson (young)	1856	1857	1843		

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>CLOUGH, James Robinson</i>	CLOUGH, Robinson (old)	1858	1858	1802		21 Feb 1874
<i>COKER, Alfred</i>	COKER, Alfred	1873	1876	1848?		
<i>COPE, James</i>	COPE, James	1876	1876			
<i>DALE, Herbert Samuel</i>	DALE, H.	1886	1887	1869	Geraldine	
<i>DALE, Joseph</i>	DALE, Joseph	1889	1889	c.1843		
<i>DINES, Tom Poole</i>	POOLE (DENIS?), Thos.	1861	1875			
<i>EDE, Benjamin</i>	EDE, Benjamin	1862	1872	1831	Surrey, England	13 Jun 1925
<i>EXON, Alfred</i>	EXON, A.	1878	1878	1825?		
<i>FILSHIE, George</i>	FILSHIE, George	1866	1879	1828	Old Kilpatrick, Dunbartonshire, Scotland	18 May 1907
<i>FINLAYSON, Alexander</i>	FINLAYSON, A.	1887	1893	1839	Dingwall, Rosshire, Scotland	14 Jul 1903
<i>FINLAYSON, John</i>	FINLAYSON, John	1868	1886			
<i>FITCH, Sydney Ivatt</i>	FITCH, S.	1881	1882	1848	Cambridge, England	5 Dec 1928
<i>FITZGERALD, John</i>	FITZGERALD, Jack	1865	1867	1840	Derragh, Cullen, Country Cork, Ireland	13 Feb 1931
<i>FLANAGAN, H.</i>	FLANAGAN, H.	1881	1881			
<i>FLYNN, Wm.</i>	FLYNN, Wm.	1873	1873			
<i>GABY, James</i>	GABY, James	1879	1880	1813?		11 Jul 1892
<i>GARLICK, Wm.</i>	GARLICK, Wm.	1860	1860	1828	Turvey, Bedfordshire, England?	31 Jan 1900
<i>GILL, Pat.</i>	GILL, Pat.	1874	1875			
<i>GLEN, Jack/John</i>	GLEN, Jack/John	1867	1868			
<i>GRAVE, John</i>	GRAVE, John	1886	1887			
<i>GRIEVES, Arthur Edward</i>	GRIEVES, A.	1884	1884			

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>HALE, Edward/Edgar</i>	HALE, E.	1886	1892			
<i>HAMMOND, Charles</i>	HAMMOND, Charles	1863	1864	c.1827		2 May 1864
<i>HAVILL, H. R.</i>	HAVILL, H. R.	1874	1875			
<i>HAWKINS, Richard Williams</i>	HAWKINS, R. W.	1858	1859	1831?	Maidstone, Kent	31 Jul 1906
<i>HAYHURST, Wm.</i>	HAYHURST, Wm.	1862	1863			
<i>HENEY, Wm.</i>	HENEY, Wm.	1878	1880	1856	Christchurch	
<i>HEWSON, Alexander</i>	HEWSON, Alec	1864	1866	1850	Bellie, Moray, Scotland	10 Aug 1926
<i>HEWSON, Charles</i>	HEWSON, Charles	1865	1866	1843	Morayshire, Scotland	
<i>HOBAN, Peter</i>	HOBAN, Peter	1875	1879	1842	County of Mayo, Ireland	15 May 1912
<i>HODGE, Henry</i>	HODGE, Henry	1857	1858			
<i>HOWARD, Ned</i>	HOWARD, Ned	No dates given	No dates given			
<i>IRVINE, Adam</i>	IRVINE, Adam	1862	1873	1833	Roberton, Roxburghshire, Scotland	12 Oct 1901
<i>IRVINE, Arthur</i>	IRVINE, Arthur	1885	1889			
<i>IRVINE, Robert</i>	IRVINE, Robert	1863	1865	1838	Rosshire, Scotland	30 Mar 1908
<i>IRVINE, Wm.1</i>	IRVINE, Wm.	1861	1861	1800	Scotland	17 Feb 1865
<i>IRVINE, Wm.2</i>	IRVINE, Wm.	1884	1884			
<i>JOHNSTONE, Chris.</i>	JOHNSON, C.	1886	1888	18 Jul 1868	Ashburton	
<i>JOHNSTONE, Jas.</i>	JOHNSON, Jas.	1875	1876	1836	Roberton, Roxburghshire, Scotland	
<i>JOHNSTONE, Thomas Scott</i>	JOHNSON, T.	1887	1887	1854		3 Dec 1936
<i>JONES, Henry Parry</i>	JONES, Henry Parry	1873	1879	c.1845		

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>JONES, Wm.</i>	JONES, Wm.	1881	1883			
<i>KEITH, Peter</i>	KEITH, Peter	1865	1888			
<i>KEMPSTER, Michael</i>	KEMPSTER, Michael	1871	1872			
<i>KENNEDY, H. J. (Henry George?)</i>	KENNEDY, H. J.	1866	1870	1832		15 Nov 1870
<i>LANGBURTON, Wm.</i>	LANGBURTON, Wm.	1858	1859			
<i>LANMER, John</i>	LANMER, John	1887	1888	1837?		2 Aug 1901
<i>LAYTHAM, John</i>	LAYTHAM,	1873	1873	1828?		
<i>LORGELLY, Eugene</i>	LORGELLY, Eugene	1878	1880	22 Mar 1864	Raukapuka	
<i>LORGELLY, Frederick</i>	LORGELLY, F.	1885	1888	c.1869		
<i>LYNCH, Dormer. W.</i>	LYNCH, D. W.	1879	1883			
<i>LYONS, Thomas Adian</i>	LYONS, T. A.	1875	1875	c.1854	Victoria	
<i>MACCARTER, David</i>	MCCARTER, David	1870	1871			
<i>MACGAVOCK, Hugh</i>	MCGAVOCK, Hugh	1874	1874			
<i>MACGUE, Pat.</i>	MCGUE, Pat.	1881	1882			
<i>MACINTOSH, Alex</i>	MCINTOSH, Alex	1880	1886			
<i>MACK, Ro.</i>	MACK, Ro.	1884	1885			
<i>MACKAY, Thomson</i>	MCKAY, Thomson	1874	1874	1846	Durness, Sutherlandshire	12 Apr 1912
<i>MACLEOD, Alexander</i>	MCLEOD, Alexander	1862	1893	1832	Loch Broom, Rosshire, Scotland	7 Jul 1902
<i>MACLEOD, John</i>	MCLEOD, Johnny	1873	1893	1858		
<i>MACPHEE, Archie</i>	MCPHEE, A.	1884	1884	1845	Ireland	15 Jun 1906
<i>MACPHERSON, Alexander</i>	MCPHERSON, Alexander	1861	1862	1844		

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>MACQUEEN, Donald</i>	MCQUEEN, Donald	1883	1884		Scotland	12 Sep 1925
<i>MACQUEEN, Duncan</i>	MCQUEEN, Duncan	1883	1884			
<i>MAJOR, Alfred</i>	MAJOR, Alfred	1887	1890			
<i>MALONEY, Patrick</i>	MALONEY, P.	1882	1884			
<i>MARCH, Henry</i>	MARCH, Henry	1870	1870			
<i>MOFFAT, John</i>	MOFFAT, J.	1884	1889	1846?	Hitchens	24 Aug 1917
<i>MORRISON, Thos.</i>	MORRISON, Thos.	1874	1874	1825?	Lochbrook, Rosshire	1 Sep 1899
<i>NEWMAN, Geo.</i>	NEWMAN, Geo.	1875	1875	c.1859		
<i>NICHOLAS, Jas.</i>	NICHOLAS, Jas.	1873	1873	c.1819	England	
<i>O'SHAE, Con</i>	O'SHAE, Con	1876	1877			
<i>OAKENFALL, J.</i>	OAKENFALL, J.	1879	1885			
<i>OLDFIELD, Thos.</i>	OLDFIELD, Thos.	1859	1862			
<i>OWEN, Thomas</i>	OWEN, Thomas	1884	1886			
<i>PARKER, Philip</i>	PARKER, Philip	1873	1874			
<i>PAYNE, Charles</i>	PAYNE, Charles	1869	1870			
<i>PEARSON, Jacob</i>	PEARSON, Jacob	1865	1866	1854?		
<i>PEARSON, Joseph</i>	PEARSON, Joseph	1867	1867	c.1852		
<i>PEEL, Robert</i>	PEEL, Robert	1876	1876			
<i>PERNISKY, Anton</i>	PERNISKY, Anton	1889	1889	1836	Poland	
<i>PERNISKY, Frank</i>	PERNISKY, Frank	1884	1889	1860	Poland	20 Aug 1919
<i>PICKET, Thos.</i>	PICKET, Thos.	1875	1889	1854?	Carrick-on-Suir, Ireland	13 Feb 1914
<i>PITHIE, James Philp</i>	PITHIE, Jas.	1861	1865	3 Jun 1835	Arbirlot, Angus (Forfar), Scotland	31 May 1916
<i>POTTER, Frank</i>	POTTER, F.	1889	1893			

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>PYLE, John</i>	PYLE, John	1879	1879	1852	England	
<i>RAE, Simon [jnr.]</i>	RAE, S.	1887	1890	1865?	New Zealand	
<i>RAE, Thomas</i>	RAE, Thomas	1873	1890	1853?		
<i>RAWLE, Jas.</i>	RAWLE, Jas.	1859	1866	1821	Winsford, Somersetshire, England	4 Nov 1900
<i>RAYNER, Algernon</i>	RAYNER, Algernon	1861	1865			
<i>RAYNER, Wm. Thomas</i>	RAYNER, Wm.	1860	1860	1843?	England	9 Oct 1900
<i>RITCHIE, Frank</i>	RITCHIE, Frank	1888	1889	1874	Geraldine	
<i>RITCHIE, James</i>	RITCHIE, Jas.	1870	1873	1842?	Alexandra, Dunbartonshire[?], Scotland	18 May 1898
<i>ROSS, Alexander</i>	ROSS, Alexander	1870	1871			
<i>ROSS, Duncan</i>	ROSS, Duncan	1871	1875			16 Jan 1919
<i>RYAN, John</i>	RYAN, John	1860	1864			
<i>SATCHELL, Charles</i>	SATCHELL, Charles	1885	1885			
<i>SCOTT, Thos.</i>	SCOTT, Thos.	1881	1883			
<i>SEALES, Jesse</i>	SEALES, Jesse	1883	1888	1848	Swansea, Wales	
<i>SHEILS, Michael</i>	SHEILS, Michael	1878	1887			
<i>SHELLARD, J. W.</i>	SHELLARD, J. W.	1880	1881			
<i>SHINNICK, Jno.</i>	SHINNICK, Jno.	1874	1876			
<i>SMITH, David</i>	SMITH, David	1887	1887			
<i>SMITH, Robert Evans</i>	SMITH, Robert	1856	1859	c.1819		3 May 1868
<i>SMITH, Wm. W.</i>	SMITH, Wm.	1876	1880	1852	Howick, Roxburghshire	
<i>SOWERBY, Charles</i>	SOWERBY, Charles	1892	1893			
<i>STEVENS, Jas. H.</i>	STEVENS, Jas. H.	1877	1877			

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>SWEENEY, Con.</i>	SWEENEY, Con.	1879	1879	c. 1846	Ireland	
<i>TAGG, George</i>	TAGG, George	1890	1892	13 Mar 1875	Kakahu	5 Oct 1947
<i>TAGG, Henry [jnr]</i>	TAGG, H.	1889	1891	3 Sep 1871		
<i>TAIT, Wm.</i>	TAIT, Wm.	1876	1877	c.1847		
<i>THATCHER, John</i>	THATCHER, John	1868	1879	26 Dec 1844	Peckham, Surrey, England	17 Sep 1901
<i>THATCHER, John (Cook)</i>	THATCHER, John (Cook)	1875	1878	c. 1842	Ireland?	
<i>THEW, Robert</i>	THEW, Robt.	1873	1873	27 Sep 1840	Lemington-on-Tyne, Northumberland, England	10 Jun 1918
<i>THOMPSON, Anthony</i>	THOMPSON, Anthony	1860	1862	1818	Baylough, Waterford, Ireland	21 Nov 1893
<i>THOMPSON, George</i>	THOMPSON, George	1861	1862	1845	Waterford, Ireland	13 Nov 1919
<i>TIFFEN, James [snr.]</i>	TIFFEN, Jas.	1862	1863	1835	England	5 Jan 1903
<i>TINDALL, Thomas Rutherford</i>	TINDALL, Thomas	1892	1892	9 Jun 1877	Kakahu	28 Apr 1954
<i>TINEY, Michael</i>	TINEY, Michael	1883	1893	1866	Ballybegan, Dublin, Ireland	24 Dec 1923
<i>TONNER, Dan</i>	TONNER, Dan	1873	1873			
<i>TOREPE, Taiko</i>	TYCHO,	No dates given	No dates given			
<i>TURTON, Edwin Richard</i>	TURTON, E.	1882	1883	1860	Kaiapoi	25 Jun 1937
<i>TURTON, John George</i>	TURTON, J. G.	1881	1893	24 Jan 1862	Ashburton	10 Oct 1946
<i>TYLER, Jim</i>	TAYLOR, Jim	1857	1857			
<i>VERCOE, Arthur</i>	VERCOE, Arthur	1859	1859	1839	Cornwall, England	26 Jul 1911
<i>WALLER, Peter</i>	WALLER, Peter	1864	1864			

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Born	Place Born	Died
<i>WEEDON, Henry</i>	WEEDON, Henry	1883	1883			
<i>WESTON, Benjamin</i>	WESTON, B.	1879	1879	1839?		
<i>WHITCOMBE, Henry</i>	WHITCOMBE, Henry	1870	1870			
<i>WYATT, William Thomas</i>	WYATT, Wm.	1856	1858	1832	Kent, England	18 Jul 1894
<i>YEARLY, Thos.</i>	YEARLY, Thos.	No dates given	No dates given			

Untraceable Names

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
<i>ADAMS, C.</i>	ADAMS, C.	1877	1878
<i>ALLAN, Edward</i>	ALLAN, Edward	1871	1871
<i>ANDERSON, J.</i>	ANDERSON, J.	1876	1876
<i>ANDERSON, John</i>	ANDERSON, John	1877	1879
<i>ARMSTRONG, J.</i>	ARMSTRONG, J.	1884	1884
<i>BAILLIE, Thomson</i>	BAILLIE, Thomson	1870	1870
<i>BAIN,</i>	BAIN,	1888	1889
<i>BAKER, W.</i>	BAKER, W.	1879	1879
<i>BANBURY, J.</i>	BANBURY, J.	1880	1881
<i>BEATTIE, Richard</i>	BEATTIE, Richard	1868	1869
<i>BELL, Robert</i>	BELL, Robert	1879	1884
<i>BENJAMIN, M.</i>	BENJAMIN, M.	1874	1875
<i>BETHUNE, J.</i>	BETHUNE, J.	1886	1887
<i>BISHOP,</i>	BISHOP,	1871	1872
<i>BORTHWICK, C.</i>	BORTHWICK, C.	1879	1879
<i>BOYD,</i>	BOYD,	1865	1865
<i>BRADY, Wm.</i>	BRADY, Wm.	1873	1873

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
BRIEN, Jas.	BRIEN, Jas.	1875	1875
BROOKS, A.	BROOKS, A.	1876	1878
BROOKS, Wm.	BROOKS, Wm.	1883	1883
BROOKTON, (&Legg)	BROOKTON, (&Legg)	1879	1879
BROWN, Chas.	BROWN, Chas.	1873	1874
BROWN, D.	BROWN, D.	1875	1875
BROWN, Dan	BROWN, Dan	1873	1874
BROWN, J.	BROWN, J.	1879	1879
BROWNING,	BROWNING,	1874	1874
BURGESS, Henry	BURGESS, Hy.	1876	1876
BURNS, John	BURNS, John	1858	1861
CAMERON, Wm.	CAMERON, Wm.	1884	1885
CAMPBELL, John	CAMPBELL, John	1871	1885
CARMICHAEL, D.	CARMICHAEL, D.	1875	1875
CARTER, C.	CARTER, C.	1879	1880
CARTWRIGHT, Jos	CARTWRIGHT, Jos	1874	1874
CHAPMAN, Wm. Martin	CHAPMAN, Wm. Martin	1873	1873
CHRISTIAN, V.	CHRISTIAN, V.	1883	1884
CLARKE, Archie	CLARKE, Archie	1892	1893
CLARKE, John Alfred	CLARKE, John Alfred	1888	1889
CLARKE, R.	CLARKE, R.	1884	1884
CLARKE, Wm.	CLARKE, Wm.	1875	1875
CLASSEN, C.	CLASSEN, C.	1881	1882
COCHRANE, Angus	COCHRANE, Angus	1876	1877
CONDON, J.	CONDON, J.	1875	1875
COOKE, W. H.	COOKE, W. H.	1881	1881
COSTELLO, Jas.	COSTELLO, Jas.	1875	1875
COTTON,	COTTON,	1871	1872
CRAWLEY, T.	CRAWLEY, T.	1880	1880
CROCKETT, Joseph	CROCKETT, Joseph	1870	1871
DAN, F.	DAN, F.	1881	1881
DONAGHAN?, John?	DONAGHAN?, John?	1858	1859

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
DOUGLAS, T. A.	DOUGLAS, T. A.	1882	1883
DUFF, N.	DUFF, N.	1875	1875
DUFFY, M.	DUFFY, M.	1879	1879
DUNN, William R.	DUNN, William R.	1877	1878
DUNNIGEN ??, Jack	DUNNIGEN ??, Jack	1861	1861
EDMONSON, J. Hampton	EDMONSON, J. Hampton	1884	1884
EDWARDS, James A.	EDWARDS, James A.	1875	1876
ELDER, M.	ELDER, M.	1881	1882
EVAN, Hy.	EVAN, Hy.	1883	1883
FARRELL, J.	FARRELL, J.	1880	1880
FAULKNER, J.	FAULKNER, J.	1885	1885
FERGUSON AND PAYNE,	FERGUSON AND PAYNE,	1875	1876
FOLEY, J.	FOLEY, J.	1880	1880
FORD, Harry	FORD, Harry	1885	1888
FORSYTH, Joe	FORSYTH, Joe	1859	1859
FOURDINIER, A.	FOURDINIER, A.	1873	1873
FOX, E. F. H.	FOX, E. F. H.	1886	1886
FRANCIS, Henry	FRANCIS, Henry	1883	1883
FRASER, Duncan	FRASER, Duncan	1881	1884
FRASER, Duncan (Jnr.)	FRASER, Duncan (Jnr.)	1884	1885
FRASER, John	FRASER, John	1885	1886
FRASER, Wm.	FRASER, Wm.	1880	1880
FREELAND/FRIELAND, D.	FREELAND/FRIELAND, D.	1875	1875
FRUDE, F.	FRUDE, F.	1883	1884
FRUDE, J.	FRUDE/FROUD, J.	1879	1884
FULLER, F.	FULLER, F.	1874	1874
GAULD, Geo.	GAULD, Geo.	1875	1875
GILCHRIST, J.	GILCHRIST, J.	1881	1881
GILLESPIE, William	GILLESPIE, William	1888	1889
GODWIN, Peter	GODWIN, Peter	1881	1883
GODWIN, T.	GODWIN, T.	1886	1887
GOODALL, Chas.	GOODALL, Chas.	1874	1874

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
<i>GORDON, C.</i>	GORDON, C.	1879	1880
<i>GORDON, J.</i>	GORDON, J.	1875	1875
<i>GOUCH, F.</i>	GOUCH, F.	1886	1887
<i>GRAHAM, Jas.</i>	GRAHAM, Jas.	1874	1877
<i>GRAHAM, P.</i>	GRAHAM, P.	1873	1878
<i>GRAHAM, Wm.</i>	GRAHAM, Wm.	1865	1867
<i>GRANT, A.</i>	GRANT, A.	1873	1873
<i>GRANT, L.</i>	GRANT, L.	1877	1877
<i>GRAY, A.</i>	GRAY, A.	1871	1871
<i>GREEN, G. T.</i>	GREEN, G. T.	1884	1887
<i>GRIEVES, Walter or William Duncan</i>	GRIEVES, W.	1884	1884
<i>GUDSELL,</i>	GUDSELL,	1864	1864
<i>HALL, Alfred</i>	HALL, Alfred	1877	1878
<i>HALL, Wm.</i>	HALL, Wm.	1857	1857
<i>HAMILTON, A.</i>	HAMILTON, A.	1873	1874
<i>HAMILTON, Jas.</i>	HAMILTON, Jas.	1865	1876
<i>HAMILTON, Wm.</i>	HAMILTON, Wm.	1873	1875
<i>HAMMOND, H (Henry?)</i>	HAMMOND, H (Henry?)	1864	1865
<i>HAMPTON, J.</i>	HAMPTON, J.	1884	1884
<i>HANNA, Wm.</i>	HANNA, Wm.	1876	1877
<i>HANSON, Peter</i>	HANSON, Peter	1869	1869
<i>HARCOURT, J.</i>	HARCOURT, J.	1885	1886
<i>HARDING, Ro.</i>	HARDING, Ro.	1876	1877
<i>HARRISON, R.</i>	HARRISON, R.	1876	1877
<i>HART, Andrew</i>	HART, Andrew	1869	1869
<i>HAY, Wm.</i>	HAY, Wm.	1875	1875
<i>HAYWARD, Wm.1</i>	HAYWARD, Wm.	1860	1861
<i>HAYWARD, Wm.2</i>	HAYWARD, Wm.	1876	1877
<i>HAYWARD, Wm.3</i>	HAYWARD, Wm.	1879	1879
<i>HELSELL, T.</i>	HELSELL, T.	1876	1876
<i>HEMPSTALK, John</i>	HEMPSTALK, John	1874	1875
<i>HENESSY,</i>	HENESSY,	1889	1889

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
<i>HERBERT, George</i>	HERBERT, George	1871	1873
<i>HEWSON, Danny</i>	HEWSON, Danny	1863	1864
<i>HICKS, H.</i>	HICKS, H.	1877	1878
<i>HILL, J.</i>	HILL, J.	1886	1887
<i>HILL, Rowland</i>	HILL, Rowland	1871	1873
<i>HILL, Wm.</i>	HILL, Wm.	1876	1877
<i>HOBART, T.? (F?)</i>	HOBART, T.? (F?)	1881	1881
<i>HUGHES, Ro.</i>	HUGHES, Ro.	1874	1875
<i>HUME, Thos.</i>	HUME, Thos.	1875	1875
<i>JACK A TI ??, Jack</i>	JACK A TI ??, Jack	1857	1858
<i>JAMIESON, P.</i>	JAMIESON, P.	1883	1883
<i>JOHNSON, Chas.</i>	JOHNSON, Chas.	1879	1882
<i>JONES, Chas.</i>	JONES, Chas.	1875	1875
<i>JONES, J.</i>	JONES, J.	1876	1877
<i>JONES, Thos.</i>	JONES, Thos.	1876	1876
<i>JONES, Wm.1</i>	JONES, Wm.	1878	1878
<i>KING, Joseph</i>	KING, Joseph	1871	1873
<i>LACKING ?, Harry</i>	LACKING ?, Harry	1871	1871
<i>LAIRD, Wm.</i>	LAIRD, Wm.	1868	1872
<i>LANG, J.</i>	LANG, J.	1875	1875
<i>LASENBY, C.</i>	LASENBY, C.	1874	1874
<i>LEATHAM, J.</i>	LEATHAM, J.	1875	1875
<i>LEE, Frank</i>	LEE, Frank	1860	1861
<i>LEGG, (&Brookton)</i>	LEGG, (&Brookton)	1879	1879
<i>LESLIE, Thos.</i>	LESLIE, Thos.	1876	1876
<i>LEWIS, S.</i>	LEWIS, S.	1876	1877
<i>LEWIS, Wm.</i>	LEWIS, Wm.	1860	1860
<i>LITTLECOTT, C.</i>	LITTLECOTT, C.	1883	1883
<i>LOGAN, Alex.</i>	LOGAN, Alex.	1884	1886
<i>MAC???,</i>	MC???,	1871	1872
<i>MACALISTER, Alexander</i>	MCALISTER, Alexander	1865	1867
<i>MACCOLL, James</i>	MCCOLL, James	1887	1889

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
<i>MACDONALD, Alex</i>	MACDONALD, Alex	1872	1873
<i>MACDONALD, Davy</i>	MCDONALD, Davy	No dates given	No dates given
<i>MACDONALD, Hugh</i>	MACDONALD, Hugh	1869	1870
<i>MACDONALD, John</i>	MACDONALD, John	1859	1864
<i>MACDONALD, William</i>	MCDONALD, William	1889	1889
<i>MACGILLIVRAY, John</i>	MACGILLIVRAY, John	1868	1869
<i>MACGREGOR, G.</i>	MCGREGOR, G.	1879	1879
<i>MACGUIRE, J.</i>	MCGUIRE, J.	1883	1883
<i>MACHARDY, Sandy</i>	MCHARDY,	1889	1891
<i>MACINNERY, J.?</i>	MCINNERY, J.?	1889	1889
<i>MACIVOR, M.</i>	MCIVOR, M.	1882	1883
<i>MACKAY, Donald</i>	MCKAY, Donald	1870	1884
<i>MACKAY, Hugh</i>	MCKAY, Hugh	1872	1874
<i>MACKAY, William (Alec.)</i>	MCKAY, William (Alec.)	1859	1860
<i>MACKENIE,</i>	MCKENZIE,	1870	1870
<i>MACKENIE, A.</i>	MACKENZIE, A.	1878	1878
<i>MACKENIE, Jas.</i>	MCKENZIE, Jas.	1860	1861
<i>MACKENIE, P.</i>	MCKENZIE, P.	1876	1876
<i>MACKENIE, Roderick</i>	MACKENZIE, Roderick	1865	1865
<i>MACKENIE, Wm.</i>	MACKENZIE, Wm.	1864	1866
<i>MACKINLAY,</i>	MCKINLAY,	1870	1870
<i>MACLAUGHLAN, John</i>	MCLAUGHLAN, John	1873	1873
<i>MACLAY, J.</i>	MCLAY, J.	1880	1881
<i>MACLELLAN, Jno.</i>	MCLELLAN, Jno.	1873	1873
<i>MACLENNAN, D.</i>	MCLENNAN, D.	1883	1887
<i>MACLENNAN, K.</i>	MCLENNAN, K.	1879	1880
<i>MACLEOD, Anthony</i>	MCLEOD, Anthony	1877	1877
<i>MACLEOD, Hugh</i>	MCLEOD, Hugh	1875	1875
<i>MACLEOD, M.</i>	MCLEOD, M.	1881	1882
<i>MACMASTER, A.</i>	MCMASTER, A.	1886	1887
<i>MACMILLAN, Charles</i>	MCMILLAN, Charles	1872	1872
<i>MACNEIL, Malcolm</i>	MCNEIL, Malcolm	1870	1870

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Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
MACPHIE, Wm.	MCPHIE, Wm.	1875	1875
MADDEN, E.	MADDEN, E.	1885	1885
MAIDER, J.	MAIDER, J.	1881	1881
MAJOR, George	MAJOR, George	1889	1889
MAJOR, William	MAJOR, William	1887	1892
MANNS, Hy.	MANNS, Hy.	1876	1877
MARKS, Thos.	MARKS, Thos.	1874	1876
MARSHALL, R.	MARSHALL,	1857	1857
MARTIN, George	MARTIN, George	1873	1873
MARTIN, John1	MARTIN, John	1871	1873
MARTIN, John2	MARTIN, John	1871	1872
MATHERS, D.	MATHERS, D.	1886	1889
MATHEWS, E.	MATHEWS, E.	1882	1882
MATHEWS, F.	MATHEWS, F.	1881	1881
MATHEWS, H.	MATHEWS, H.	1879	1879
MENIES, R.	MENZIES, R.	1866	1868
MITCHELL, Thos.	MITCHELL, Thos.	1873	1875
MOFFATT, Thos.	MOFFATT, Thos.	1873	1874
MOLLINSON, Alexander	MOLLINSON, Alexander	1870	1883
MOORE, A. H.	MOORE, A. H.	1877	1877
MOORE, F.	MOORE, F.	1881	1881
MORGAN,	MORGAN,	1893	1893
MORIARTY, J.	MORIARTY, J.	1879	1880
MORRISON, E.	MORRISON, E.	1879	1879
MORRISON, Wm.	MORRISON, Wm.	1877	1878
MOSS, Charlie	MOSS, Charlie	1870	1870
MUNROE, Duncan	MUNROE, Duncan	1874	1876
MUNROE, J.	MUNROE, J.	1888	1888
MUNROE, Wm.	MUNROE, Wm.	1877	1878
MURDOCH, J.	MURDOCH, J.	1879	1879
NESBIT, R.	NESBIT, R.	1884	1884
NEVILLE, Wm.	NEVILLE, Wm.	1873	1873

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
NEWELL,	NEWELL,	1880	1880
NEWMAN, C.	NEWMAN, C.	1874	1875
NOONAN, Jas.	NOONAN, Jas.	1874	1876
NORTHCOTE, J.	NORTHCOTE, J.	1882	1883
O'BRIEN, T.	O'BRIEN, T.	1877	1877
O'KEEFE, E.	O'KEEFE, E.	1881	1881
O'NEAL,	O'NEAL,	1859	1861
OFF, Chas.	OFF, Chas.	1885	1885
OLDE, E.	OLDE, E.	1883	1885
PATERSON, C.	PATERSON, C.	1881	1883
PAYNE AND FERGUSON,	FERGUSON AND PAYNE,	1875	1876
PAYNE, Saml.	PAYNE, Saml.	1875	1875
PERKINS, Alf	PERKINS, Alf	1876	1876
PETERSEN, Wm.	PETERSEN, Wm.	1876	1876
PETERSON, J.	PETERSON, J.	1875	1875
PHILLIPS, J.	PHILLIPS, J.	1859	1859
PHILLIPS, Thomas	PHILLIPS, Thomas	1869	1870
PICKET, R.	PICKET, R.	1879	1879
PIM, Geo. F.	PIM, Geo. F.	1874	1875
POSTTE, A	POSTTE, A	1865	1867
QUINN, Frank	QUINN, Frank	1889	1890
RAYAN, Jas.	RAYAN, Jas.	1858	1858
REID, J.	REID, J.	1877	1879
REIDY, Jas.	REIDY, Jas.	1876	1877
ROBERTSON, A.	ROBERTSON, A.	1885	1886
RODOW, Peter	RODOW, Peter	1870	1871
ROGERS, G.	ROGERS, G.	1885	1885
ROGERS, John	ROGERS, John	1869	1880
RUDDLE, Thos.	RUDDLE, Thos.	1882	1882
RUFSELL,	RUFSELL,	1866	1870
RUTHERFORD, James	RUTHERFORD, James	1871	1872
RUTHERFORD, Wm.	RUTHERFORD, Wm.	1887	1889

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
<i>SATCHELL, Wm.</i>	SATCHELL, Wm.	1885	1886
<i>SAUNDERS, J.</i>	SAUNDERS, J.	1876	1877
<i>SAUNDERS, T.</i>	SAUNDERS, T.	1877	1877
<i>SAUNDERS, T. F.</i>	SAUNDERS, T. F.	1873	1873
<i>SCANLAN, J.</i>	SCANLAN, J.	1874	1874
<i>SCOTT, A.</i>	SCOTT, A.	1882	1884
<i>SCOTT, J.</i>	SCOTT, J.	1889	1889
<i>SELWOON, G.</i>	SELWOON, G.	1881	1882
<i>SHANNON,</i>	SHANNON,	1875	1875
<i>SHEIL, S.</i>	SHEIL, S.	1878	1878
<i>SHEPHERD, Jno.</i>	SHEPHERD, Jno.	1875	1875
<i>SIMMS, James</i>	SIMMS, James	1871	1872
<i>SMITH, Charley</i>	SMITH, Charley	1859	1859
<i>SMITH, Daniel</i>	SMITH, Daniel	1886	1887
<i>SMITH, G.</i>	SMITH, G.	1876	1876
<i>SMITH, Henry</i>	SMITH, Henry	1888	1888
<i>SMITH, Jas.</i>	SMITH, Jas.	1878	1879
<i>SMITH, Jno.</i>	SMITH, Jno.	1877	1882
<i>SMITH, W.</i>	SMITH, W.	1881	1881
<i>SPALDING, C.</i>	SPALDING, C.	1875	1875
<i>STEPHEN, John</i>	STEPHEN, John	1871	1872
<i>STEVENS, Thos.</i>	STEVENS, Thos.	1875	1883
<i>STEWART, A.</i>	STEWART/STUART, A.	1890	1893
<i>SULLIVAN, John</i>	SULLIVAN, John	1873	1873
<i>SUMNER, John</i>	SUMNER, John	1859	1862
<i>SYME, W.</i>	SYME, W.	1887	1887
<i>SYMES, Thomas</i>	SYMES, Thomas	1870	1875
<i>TAYLOR, Fred</i>	TAYLOR, Fred	1891	1891
<i>TAYLOR, Wm.</i>	TAYLOR, Wm.	1875	1876
<i>THOMAS,</i>	THOMAS,	No dates given	No dates given
<i>THOMAS, Wm.</i>	THOMAS, Wm.	1866	1867
<i>THOMPSON, Charles</i>	THOMPSON, Charles	1888	1888

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
THOMPSON, Fred	THOMSON, Fred	1874	1877
THOMPSON, Thos.	THOMSON, Thos.	1877	1877
THORNTON, Wm.	THORNTON, Wm.	1876	1876
THRUSTON, L.	THRUSTON, L.	1884	1884
TOMLINSON, A.	TOMLINSON, A.	1880	1881
TRACEY, Pat.	TRACEY, Pat.	1880	1884
TRACEY, Wm.	TRACEY, Wm.	1873	1873
TRAVERS, Chas.	TRAVERS, Chas.	1875	1875
TURNER, C.	TURNER, C.	1875	1875
WALLIS, J.? (or I?)	WALLIS, J.? (or I?)	1873	1874
WALSH, W.	WALSH, W.	1880	1880
WALSH? WILSH?, Wm.	WALSH? WILSH?, Wm.	1869	1870
WARD, Wm.	WARD, Wm.	1866	1868
WARDON, Jno.	WARDON, Jno.	1874	1874
WATERHOUSE, T.	WATERHOUSE, T.	1876	1876
WATSON, Edward	WATSON, Edward	1859	1865
WATSON, Thos.	WATSON, Thos.	1876	1877
WEAVER, C.	WEAVER, C.	1877	1877
WELSHMAN, John	WELSHMAN, John	1873	1873
WEST, Parker	WEST, Parker	1874	1874
WHITTON, Charles	WHITTON, Charles	1883	1893
WILLIAMS, A.	WILLIAMS, A.	1887	1887
WILLIAMS, B.	WILLIAMS, B.	1878	1878
WILLIAMS, Charley	WILLIAMS, Charley	1863	1864
WILLIAMS, Henry1	WILLIAMS, Henry	1871	1872
WILLIAMS, Henry2	WILLIAMS, Hy.	1877	1877
WILLIAMS, Tommy	WILLIAMS, Tommy	1858	1859
WILLIAMS, Walter	WILLIAMS, Walter	1867	1869
WILSON, Jas.	WILSON, Jas.	1873	1874
WITTAKER, J.	WITTAKER, J.	1875	1875
WOOD, Jno. [contract Tailor]	WOOD, Jno.	1874	1874
WOOD, Thomas	WOOD, Thomas	1863	1864

Appendix 2 – The Mt. Peel Employees

Standardised Name	Name as Appears in Wages' Book	First Year Recorded in Wages' Book	Last Year Recorded in Wages' Book
<i>WRIGHT, C.</i>	WRIGHT, C.	1881	1881
<i>WRIGHT, Edwin</i>	WRIGHT, Edwin	1859	1861
<i>WRIGHT, G. S.</i>	WRIGHT, G. S.	1857	1862
<i>WRIGHT, George</i>	WRIGHT, George	1863	1864

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*Note all these items are transcripts

- [No accession number] Ashburton Cemetery Transcripts 1864-1896
- [No accession number] Ashburton Public Cemetery Transcriptions
- [413] Inquests from Timaru Herald 1864-1899
- [414] Pleasant Point Presbyterian Marr. 1881-1972
- [416] Temuka Presbyterian Marriages 1880-1920
- [448] Trinity Presbyterian Timaru Marriages 1925-1941
- [476] Blue Cliffs & Otaio Church of England Baptisms, Marriages
- [485] Mackenzie Presbyterian Marriages 1892-1939
- [494] Pareora West Methodist Marriages & Baptisms
- [498] Waihao Valley Presbyterian Parish Marriage Register 1916-1969
- [537] Orari Presbyterian Marriages 1916-1983
- [572] St Albans Anglican Pleasant Point Burials, Marriages
- [594] Waimate Presbyterian Marriages 1876-1920
- [672] Chalmers Timaru Presbyterian Marriages 1902-1921
- [693] First Four Ships

- [695] Otipua Parish Marriages 1902-1930
[710] South Canterbury Presbyterian Marriages 1865-1889 (Performed by Barclay,
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[774] Pareora West Methodist Baptisms 1867-1915

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[MB 44 – F3 I-IV] Mt. Peel Wages' Books 1857 – 1892
[MB 44 – F4 V] Mt. Peel Account Book 1857 – 1866
[MB 44 - B2 XVIII] Record of Events Occurring at Mt. Peel Station 1856-61;
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[CH-246] CAHX, Department Of Justice, High Court, Christchurch, Marriage
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[CH-648] CAHY, Department Of Justice District & High Court, Timaru, /25
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